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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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28 January 1983

# CHINA REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 383

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### LATIN AMERICAN FOREIGN MINISTERS' COMMUNIQUE

OW101200 Beijing XINHUA in English 1141 GMT 10 Jan 83

[Text] Panama City, January 9 (XINHUA)--The foreign ministers of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela today made an urgent call for dialogues and negotiations among the Central American countries to ease the tension there.

A communique issued at the end of a two-day meeting by the ministers at Panama's Contadora Island also called for efforts to lay foundations for lasting peaceful coexistence and mutual respect among the Central American countries.

The meeting was seen as a joint effort by the four countries toward formulating a peace plan for Central America independent of the United States.

The four ministers are known to disagree with U.S. policy in Central America and are said to favor negotiated settlements in El Salvador's civil war and in the border disputes between Honduras and Nicaragua.

Last September, the presidents of Mexico and Venezuela sent a joint message to the leaders of the United States, Honduras and Nicaragua, urging them to work for defusing the tension in Central America.

The communique said that the ministers expressed their concern over the "direct or indirect" involvement in the conflicts in Central America. It stressed the necessity to eliminate the external factors for the region's confrontation and called on the Central American countries to "give up any dangerous actions which might aggravate the situation and extend the conflicts to the whole region."

It said that the four countries pledged continued efforts to work for economic development in Central America and Caribbean countries in order to promote political stability and social tranquillity there.

The meeting, attended by foreign ministers Bernardo Sepulveda Amor of Mexico, Dr Jose Alberto Zambrano Velasco of Venezuela, Rodrigo Lloreda Caicedo of Colombia and Juan Jose Amado of Panama, was held when new tensions developed in Central America. Nicaragua accused Honduras of carrying out harassing activities against it with U.S. support. Honduras rejected the accusations and counter-charged Nicaragua with arms shipment to Salvadoran guerrillas through Honduran territories. Border clashes between Nicaragua and Costa Rica were also reported.

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### JAPANESE MEDIA ON WARSAW PACT DECLARATION

OW080836 Beijing XINHUA in English 0822 GMT 8 Jan 83

[Text] Tokyo, January 7 (XINHUA)--Leading Japanese newspapers today commented on the political declaration of the Warsaw Pact, calling it a "peace offensive" aimed at shaking the NATO bloc.

YOMIURI SHIMBUN said the political declaration which was published on January 5 was a package "peace offensive" program advanced before Western countries by Yuri Andropov's new Soviet government and its allied East European countries. Focusing on the question of nuclear arms, it said, the program contained proposals which had been repeatedly offered by the Soviet Union. But "they are being paddled again in disguise," it said.

MAINICHI SHIMBUN referred to the declaration as "a large-scale peace offensive rarely seen in recent years." Its influence upon public opinions in Western Europe, it said, "has been well calculated by the Soviet Union and East European countries."

In a commentary entitled "Attempts To Shake the West," ASAHI SHIMBUN said: "As regards the possibilities of implementing these proposals, many people hold negative views. But you may get the impression that the Soviet Union wishes to bring out by such proposals the result of driving a wedge between the United States and Europe and, as a further step, among West European countries."

TOKYO SHIMBUN said that these proposals, followed by those of Yuri Andropov last December on the reduction of nuclear arms in Europe, form a peace offensive "aimed at obstructing the deployment of mid-range missiles by the NATO member states." What counter-action the Western countries will take merits attention, it said.

CSO: 4000/47

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### REPORT ON WARSAW PACT DECLARATION

OW071859 Beijing XINHUA in English 1829 GMT 7 Jan 83

[Text] Prague, January 6 (XINHUA)--A political declaration adopted at the two-day meeting of Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states, which ended yesterday, was made public here today.

The declaration, signed by leaders of the Warsaw Pact member states, condemns the NATO decision to deploy U.S.-made new type medium-range missiles in Western Europe as "the most dangerous."

It says "The urgent task is to prevent a new round of nuclear arms race from starting in Europe, and to make efforts to reduce and limit the arms race."

"The best way to solve the issue is to clear Europe of all medium-range nuclear weapons and tactic nuclear weapons," it says.

Therefore, the declaration suggests negotiations to be held on the limitation of nuclear arms race in Europe and the establishment of nuclear-free zones in North Europe, the Balkans and other regions in Europe. It also calls for reduction of troops strength and armaments by both the Soviet Union and the United States in Central Europe and supervision on the enforcement of the measure by representatives of the two sides.

The declaration points out that the Warsaw Pact member states have proposed the conclusion of a mutual nonaggression treaty with NATO.

The declaration says the core of the treaty "would be the mutual commitment of the member countries of both alliances not to be the first to use nuclear or conventional arms against one another, and thus not be the first to use against one another military force in general."

The declaration calls on the NATO member states to make constructive responses to the suggestion.

Western press noted the convocation of the Warsaw Pact summit meeting shows that the Warsaw Pact has an extremely strong sense of crisis towards the NATO decision to deploy the U.S. Pershing II and cruise missiles. It described the proposal raised by the declaration for Warsaw Pact and NATO to conclude a treaty on non-use of military forces against each other as a "peace offensive" against the Western public opinion.

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

U.S. MILITARY SALES--Washington, January 7 (XINHUA)--The U.S. State Department has decided to permit the sale of spare parts and "safety-of-flight" items worth more than 6.3 million dollars to the Guatemalan Government under the Foreign Military Sales (FMS) program. Department spokesman John Hughes said at a news briefing today that most of the spare parts would be used for helicopters the Guatemalan Government has been using to fight "leftist guerrillas." This decision on military sales to Guatemala is "part of a broader relationship" including the disbursement of some 10 million dollars in economic aid to this Caribbean country. U.S. military aid to Guatemala was cut off in 1977 because of the "human rights situation" there. The U.S. State Department announced, "The decision (on military sales) was made in light of human rights improvements that have taken place in Guatemala since the Rios Montt government came to power in March, 1982." But this assertion was immediately challenged by some 70 congressmen, who charged in a draft resolution that the Rios Montt government's domestic policy fails to meet even "minimum human rights standards." [Text] [OW080435 Beijing XINHUA in English 0211 GMT 8 Jan 83]

SIHANOUK FORCES KILL VIETNAMESE--Bangkok, January 8 (XINHUA)--The Patriotic Forces led by Norodom Sihanouk killed 20 Vietnamese troops during an attack in western Kampuchea on January 6, the Thai newspaper MATUPHUM DAILY reported today. The attack was mounted on a Vietnamese outpost about 5 kilometers from the large border village of Nong Chan. The guerrillas reported one dead and three wounded to their own forces. The Vietnamese troops are reportedly preparing for an attack on the Sihanouk-led Patriotic Forces. [Text] [OW080914 Beijing XINHUA in English 0724 GMT 8 Jan 83]

CSO: 4000/47

## PARTY AND STATE

### ESSENCE OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY DEFINED

Shanghai SHEHUI KEXUE [SOCIAL SCIENCES] in Chinese No 10, 15 Oct 82  
pp 18-20

[Article by Chen Changyin [7115 7022 0692]: "A Brief Discussion of Socialist Democracy"]

[Text] I. The goal of Marxist scientific socialism is to achieve both economic equality and political democracy.

The political report of the 12th Party Congress pointed out: "Building a high degree of socialist democracy is one of our basic goals and basic tasks." The resolution of the Sixth Plenary Session declared: "The failure to give serious attention to this task was one of the crucial conditions leading to the 'Great Cultural Revolution.' It was a bitter lesson." There was a prejudice in the past. According to it, the essence of socialism is public ownership in economics and, once achieved, the goal is reached; to discuss democracy after the goal is reached is a bourgeois viewpoint.

Actually, while the essence of socialism is public ownership of production means and elimination of the exploiting system, it also includes building a new-model democratic politics on the basis of public ownership. The building of both a socialist material civilization and a spiritual civilization depends on socialist democracy as the guarantee. A democratic society is the ideal of mankind to start with, and the clan society was a democratic society of public ownership. Only after entering the class society was democracy abrogated or greatly limited. Capitalism contributed to the development of the democratic system, but it is subject to considerable class limitations. Its democracy is false, and essentially bourgeois dictatorship.

It is possible for a socialist society to achieve a high degree of true democracy, because it follows the public ownership system of production means. Only when in possession of the production means will the proletariat and laboring people truly enjoy democratic rights and truly become the masters.

Leading the people to seize political power, our party built a people's republic under the people's democratic dictatorship. After introducing public ownership, the Eighth Party Congress declared: "We must further enlarge democratic life and launch a struggle against bureaucracy." Unfortunately it was not achieved. Only after a long period of the "left-wing" guiding ideology, the mistakes caused by disregarding democratic politics, and especially the disaster of the "Great Cultural Revolution," have we, drawing a lesson from the painful experiences, understood more clearly the important meaning of democratic politics.

II. To build a socialist political system with a high degree of democracy, first of all we must understand correctly, in theory, the inherent contradictions of a socialist society.

The Eighth Party Congress correctly found that, after achieving public ownership and basically eliminating the classes, class contradictions were no longer the main contradictions. We also learned the Soviet lessons of the personality cult, magnification of the class struggle and devastation of democracy, and proposed the theory of correctly handling the inherent contradictions within the people. It was an important development of Marxism-Leninism. But unfortunately this correct theory was negated a year or two later, and the theory that the class struggle remained the main domestic contradiction was proposed. "Taking the class struggle as the key link" and the existence of the bourgeoisie within the party became the theoretical basis of the "Great Cultural Revolution."

The political report of the 12th Party Congress made a comprehensive exposition on the presence of class remnants and the class struggle in a socialist society: "Correctly understanding and handling the class struggle currently found in China constitute the key to safeguarding the democratic rights of the broad people and enforcing effective dictatorship over an extremely small number of hostile elements.... After the elimination of the exploiting class as a class, the great majority of the contradictions in China's society no longer possesses the nature of the class struggle, and the class struggle is no longer the main contradiction in China's society." The resolution of the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee likewise pointed out: "Due to domestic factors and international influence, the class struggle will, within a specific sphere, remain for a long time to come and may possibly intensify under certain conditions. We must combat both the view that the class struggle must be magnified and the view that it has died out, maintain vigilance, launch effective struggles against all kinds of disruptive activities of elements hostile to socialism in politics, the economy, ideology and culture, and social life, correctly interpret the large numbers of social contradictions of all kinds in China's society which do not belong in the range of the class struggle, and resort to methods different from the class struggle for their correct solution, for otherwise the stability and unity of society will be endangered. These passages constitute the theory on bringing order out of the chaos of the "Great Cultural Revolution," the basis to build a socialist political system

with a high degree of democracy, and an important development of Comrade Mao Zedong's theory on the correct handling of the inherent contradictions within the people.

This theory first affirms that "the exploiting class as a class" has vanished, not "still in existence." It then points out clearly that "the class struggle is no longer the main contradiction in China's society," and that "the class struggle will, within a specific sphere, remain for a long time to come and may possibly intensify under certain conditions," not found everywhere, nor unconditionally "very intense," thereby forestalling the emergence of such incorrect arguments as "taking the class struggle as the key link," "the existence of the bourgeoisie within the party" and magnifying the class struggle. It differentiates the class struggle found within a specific sphere from the large numbers of nonclass struggles, and holds that the issue of distinguishing the enemy and ourselves does not exist in the nonclass contradictions and requires no consideration. Thus, we avoid the disaster of confusing the two kinds of contradictions. As for the small number of degenerate party members, cadres, workers and peasants and the serious criminals pursuing destructive activities in politics, economics and culture, we should crack down on them and enforce dictatorship over them, because, having transformed into alien-class elements, they are no longer problems within the people. All our past movements, including the "Great Cultural Revolution," stressed over and over again the necessity to distinguish the two kinds of contradictions, yet they were unavoidably mixed up. The basic reason was the failure to distinguish the class and nonclass contradictions. Exaggerating the nonclass contradictions within the people into class contradictions is magnification in understanding; therefore, it becomes actually impossible to distinguish the two kinds of contradictions.

III. All new ideologies, new cultures and new systems come from reforming, developing and changing the old ideologies, old cultures and old systems. In regard to the old ideologies, cultures and systems, we must take the historical materialist attitude and critically continue them, not the historical nihilist attitude of rejecting them in toto. When building a socialist political system with a high degree of democracy, we must also follow this principle in regard to the bourgeois democratic system.

The bourgeoisie developed the democratic system to an unprecedented level and was the most progressive in history. However, bourgeois democracy is very false. We should reject its falsity and assimilate its progressiveness.

The bourgeois slogan for human rights is actually for the bourgeois right of free exploitation. We must reform the parliament of capitalist countries, which serves as a "hall of idle talk" in defense of bourgeois interests, into a people's "work mechanism." We must reform the election system of capitalist countries, which is actually a system whereby the laboring people elect every few years their oppressors, into a system whereby they truly select their own leaders. We must reform the bourgeois

division of the three powers, which actually serves as a mantle concealing the bourgeois dictatorship, into the people's legislative and judicial work organs. We must reform bourgeois democracy and freedom, which are actually limited to the democracy and freedom of the bourgeoisie, while the proletariat, owning no property, is unable to enjoy true democracy and freedom, into the people's freedom of thinking and speech under the four basic principles, permitting free contention among all different academic views and long-term coexistence and mutual supervision of all democratic parties. These constitute our critical continuation of bourgeois democracy.

Since there is critical continuation, there will be development. We must, by means of critical continuation, rise higher and build the supreme democratic system in human society. A hundred schools of thought contending and launching criticisms and self-criticisms will become the methods of self-education for the masses for the purpose of continuously probing for truths and developing them. Socialist democracy must spread to all aspects of the social economy and cultural and social life and enable the people to directly manage the economic and cultural undertakings. It will be a momentous contribution to the democratic system of human society which is basically beyond the reach of bourgeois democracy.

IV. Lenin said: "The bourgeois parliamentary system links democracy (not to be enjoyed by the people) with bureaucracy, while the proletarian democratic system takes immediate measures to eradicate bureaucracy, and it has the capacity to implement the measures to the final end until the total elimination of bureaucracy and the total achievement of democracy for the people's enjoyment." According to these words, bureaucracy is a product of the exploiting class politics, and the basic goal of proletarian politics is to eliminate bureaucracy and realize democracy.

Comrades Mao Zedong and Liu Shaoqi time and again warned against the perniciousness of bureaucracy. At the Eighth Party Congress, Comrade Liu Shaoqi said: "In many of our state organs exist the bureaucratic phenomena of remaining far removed from the masses and reality, failing to understand the views of the lower level and the people, suppressing their views and feeling indifferent to the livelihood of the masses. Severed from the masses and from reality, bureaucracy seriously blocks the growth of the democratic life of the state, the development of the enthusiasm of the broad people and the progress of the socialist cause.

Developing democracy and combating bureaucracy were always a part of our party's successive rectification movements since the founding of the nation. Mainly regarding the bureaucratic phenomenon as an issue of ideological style, we produced some favorable results. Afterward, with the serious devastations of democracy in the party and in the state, leading to the tragedy of the "Great Cultural Revolution," we have realized that, besides the ideological style, the source of bureaucracy in a socialist state also includes the lack of a sound democratic system. Therefore, we must, in line with the principles of democratic centralism, reform the

administrative structure of the state, make it possible for the people to exercise their democratic rights in managing the state, the social economy and cultural undertakings, and enable the state to lead and organize the socialist construction more effectively.

A high degree of centralism is necessary to the socialist cause, and we must never promote liberalism and decentralism. But excessive centralism, centralism severed from the democratic foundation, or centralism in the hands of a minority of the leading organs or even individuals will lead to personal despotism and bureaucracy. Therefore, in addition to the ideological style, we must overcome bureaucracy by reforming the administrative structures and systems and introducing the democratic system, and build a high degree of socialist democratic politics. It is an important development of the theory of scientific socialism.

V. Life tenure is a system of personal despotism in the slave and feudal societies. Due to the lack of development of capitalism and the deep-rooted influence of feudalism, de facto life tenure was formed in our socialist state. We can thus see the important significance of purging the remnant feudal poison in the ideological realm and building a socialist democracy in our country.

Life tenure and personality cult are indivisible. Our leaders played great roles in the people's revolutionary cause and were deeply cherished and revered by the masses, but they never encouraged life tenure. But we, after the victory of the revolution, mistakenly advocated such historical idealist views as "great liberator" and "keen insight into everything" and created the atmosphere of the personality cult, thereby leading to the ideological basis for the life tenure of leaders.

Regardless of how wise, the leaders will always have their limitations in understanding matters, and it is impossible for any "genius" to be always correct at all times. With age, a person's energy will naturally decline. When the aging leaders yield to the able, it will further the discovery and cultivation of younger talents and the promotion of successors, prevent the personality cult and develop and strengthen the democratic system. The retired leaders will still enjoy the people's respect and lead them in other ways. Today, our party and state have decided to abolish the life tenure of all cadres and formulate systems on their election, assessment, inspection, tenure, retirement, impeachment and dismissal, thereby enabling the people to supervise them. These are important measures to safeguard socialist democracy.

VI. As democratic politics needs a strong guarantee, socialist democracy must be made into a legal system. The bourgeoisie emphasizes one-sidedly the legal system and negates rule by the people, stressing money, not ethics. For the sake of money, as long as there is a "legitimate" excuse, any evil is permitted. We criticize the bourgeois view on the rule of law, and we pay serious attention to rule by the people as well as the rule of law. In the early days of the nation, we created the people's

democratic constitution and a series of laws, which were signs of vigor and prosperity. However, we subsequently criticized the rule of law and the strengthening of the legal system as the bourgeois standpoint, one-sidedly stressed rule by the people, negated the legal system, and went so far as to disregard the fundamental law of the state, viz., the constitution, thereby creating the tragedy of the "Great Cultural Revolution."

Today, summarizing the experiences of more than 3 decades, we have realized that, without a good legal system, able men will also make big mistakes, and we have begun to give serious attention to the building of a complete legal system. From now on, we must have laws as the bases, act according to law, enforce the law strictly and investigate the violations. In enforcing the people's democratic dictatorship, we must protect the people's right to peaceful production and construction, and educate and convince them, by democratic means, in case of defects and mistakes on their part. When the people violate the law, they must also be punished according to law. In regard to the small number of unreformed remnant exploiting class elements and all serious criminals disrupting the socialist system, including the seriously degenerate party members and cadres, we must ruthlessly crack down on them and enforce dictatorship over them. We must never show leniency to the class enemies who sabotage socialism. Everyone is equal before the law, and no one may have any special privileges. The judiciary must be independent, without any interference from the administrative branch. The leadership of the party committees is embodied in understanding the principles and policies of legislation and law enforcement, not in "replacing the law by the party" and enforcing the law and deciding cases on behalf of the judicial branch.

VII. The socialist cause must be pursued under the leadership of the CPC. It is the conclusion of history.

Under this premise, to establish a socialist democratic system, there must be separation of party and government. The political report of the 12th Party Congress declared: "The party's leadership is mainly leadership in ideology and politics, in principles and policies, and in the selection, assignment, assessment and supervision of cadres; it should not be equated with the administrative work and production direction of the government and the enterprises. The party should not monopolize their work and replace them." Lenin had long pointed out that it is extremely absurd to replace class dictatorship with party dictatorship and that the functions of the party and the Soviet political power must be clearly divided. Comrade Liu Shaoqi told us that the tasks of the Communist Party members have always been arousing the awareness of the masses before they have become aware, and leading them in combat once they have become aware. If anyone attempts to play a greater role, it may lead to all kinds of mistakes. "Communist Party members should be everywhere. They can only serve as the leaders and guides of the masses, and they should not, nor is it possible for them to, be 'heroes' and take the place of the people to do everything." All these exhort us to guard against monopolizing and taking the place of the people and to give

attention to separation of party and government. Our constitution provides that "the CPC is the leading core of the people of the whole country," and it also provides that "all powers of the PRC belong to the people, and the organ for the people to exercise their state powers is the National People's Congress." Here the party's leadership and the people's exercise of state powers are clearly distinguished yet also unified. The powers are in the hands of the people--in the National People's Congress, and the party's leadership is for the party, among the people and in the National People's Congress, to lead the people to be masters, not to remain above the people, issue orders to the National People's Congress, monopolize everything and replace the people. On this point, our party had excellent experiences in history. In the democratic bases during the war to resist Japan, it followed the "three-three system" in the administrative organs, thereby avoiding monopoly by the party, humbly heeded the opinions of the nonparty people and adopted the suggestion of Li Dingming [2621 7844 6900], an enlightened gentry, to "train the troops and simplify the administration." It should be called a preliminary attempt at building an advanced people's democratic system, and the result was good.

After the founding of the nation, China produced good results in the practice of the people's democratic dictatorship and created an excellent tradition. We first organized the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference composed of various parties, people's organizations and representatives of various fields to exercise the functions of the power organs on behalf of the people. After the establishment of the National People's Congress, the conference has remained an important organ. It always holds meetings simultaneously with the National People's Congress and discusses state affairs together. Our socialist democratic system fully mobilizes the enthusiasm of the masses and avoids the evils of party monopoly over everything and mixing the party and the government.

The problem arose when we, under the guidance of the theory of "taking the class struggle as the key link," abandoned this tradition. From the top to the bottom, it was mostly "the secretary's words that count," and the party committee, or even the secretary, monopolized the administration in the various realms of politics, economics and culture. The many kinds of congresses and committees elected by the people all lost their command power to various degrees.

Today, the 12th Party Congress has decided that, while upholding and improving leadership, the party must not monopolize everything and replace administrative direction, thereby correcting the mistake of mixing the party and the government and implementing the separation of the two. It is an important guarantee to establishing and strengthening a high degree of the socialist democratic system. In the course of correcting the mistake of mixing the party and the government, the views advocating doing without the party's leadership are erroneous. They violate the conclusion of history, the principles of socialist democracy and the interest of the people.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### MAO'S 'PROBLEMS OF WAR, STRATEGY' DISCUSSED

OW100640 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 29 Dec 82

[Article by (Gan Zhongdu) of the PLA Political Academy: "Study the Philosophical Thinking Expressed in 'Problems of War and Strategy'"]

[Excerpts] The article entitled "Problems of War and Strategy" is part of Comrade Mao Zedong's concluding speech at the Sixth Plenary Session of the Sixth CPC Central Committee. Integrating the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong analyzed the basic conditions in Chinese society, summed up the historical experiences of the Chinese revolution and expounded the importance of holding fast to the gun in the proletarian revolution. He pointed out that the party's military strategy must change with the changes in the enemy's situation and our tasks. He clearly defined the important strategic role of guerrilla warfare in the war of resistance against Japan. By so doing, he aroused the attention of the whole party to the study of military questions, thus unifying the whole party's thinking on war and strategy as the problem of the first importance in the Chinese revolution.

Here, I would like to discuss two aspects of my experience in studying this article:

1. The course of the Chinese revolution should be understood from the particularity of contradiction. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: The seizure of power by armed forces, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally.

This is a conclusion reached after summing up historical experiences in class struggle. The historical experiences of proletarian struggle and our party's practical experiences in revolutionary struggle over the 17 years from its founding in 1921 to 1938. Why was it said that this Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally? Why was it applicable not only in Russia but also in China? This is because class contradictions in class society are a universal phenomenon, and so are the cruel suppression and enslavement of the people by the exploiting classes and the resistance by the people with

revolutionary violence against armed counterrevolutionary violence. Marxists hold that there was no war in the earliest time and that war is a social and historical phenomenon, an inevitable outcome of class society. Since war is an outcome of class society, it can be eliminated only with the elimination of classes. The proletarian revolution must go through the seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war. This is a universal principle determined by the universality of class struggle and class contradictions.

Now we must safeguard the security of the motherland, undertake economic construction and socialist modernization, strive for the reunification of the motherland including Taiwan, oppose hegemonism, maintain world peace and promote human progress. We must uphold the policy of independence and initiative. On the question of war, we must be prepared for danger in times of peace and be always on the alert. We must strive to strengthen the building of the PLA and our national defense and be ready at all times to resist and wipe out any invader.

2. Since objective things develop through their movements, military strategy must change with the change of the enemy situation and ours. Military strategy is planning and guidance for the conduct of war by taking its overall situation into account. Its most important task is to determine the basic direction of attack and the main form of operations. Military strategy is laid down according to the relatively regular military, political, economic, geographic and other objective conditions on the enemy's and our own sides. However, materialist dialectics holds that the world is not a combination of immutable things, but a combination of things in the process of development. Objective things always develop through their endless movements. This calls for the development of human knowledge to keep up with the movement and development of objective things and for one's subjective world to conform to the objective world. Otherwise, one's knowledge will lag behind the situation, which will become an obstacle to progress.

The strength of the enemy and our own strength keep changing in the course of war. When such a change reaches a certain stage, a partial or basic qualitative change will take place in the balance of power between the enemy and us. Either situation calls for a corresponding change in military strategy.

We must uphold the materialist-dialectic view of development that military strategy changes with the changing situations on the part of the enemy and ourselves. There is no such thing as immutable military strategy. The resolution adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee said: In his military writings, including the article on "Problems of War and Strategy," Comrade Mao Zedong explained that it would be necessary to effect an appropriate change in military strategy simultaneously with the changing balance of forces between the enemy and ourselves and with the progress of the war.

In his article on "Problems of War and Strategy," Comrade Mao Zedong, upholding the materialist-dialectic view of development, analyzed the changes our party had effected in military strategy and predicted the change to be made in the military strategy in the later stage of the war of resistance against Japan.

From now on, our army's military strategy also must change with the changing situation on the enemy's side and our side in order to meet the needs of the changed, objective situation in war. We should keep the military strategy that has been proved effective in the past and that may be applicable in future war. At the same time, we should develop new military strategy required by the objective situation of our army.

In his article "Problems of War and Strategy," Comrade Mao Zedong discussed the question of the change of military strategy. Likewise, the shift of the emphasis of the party's and country's work simultaneously with the developing situation in the revolution is also a question of a strategic shift. Because our party shifted the emphasis of its work and grasped the principal contradiction, we won one victory after another in the revolution. After the nationwide victory of the revolution and the basic completion of socialist transformation, the emphasis of the party's and country's work should have been shifted to socialist modernization centering on economic construction. However, as we failed to effect a timely strategic shift in the emphasis of our work, our party and country suffered heavy losses. The resolution of the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee pointed out: In the final analysis, the mistake we made in the past was that we failed to persevere in making this strategic shift.

After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party and country effected a shift in the emphasis of their work and decided to carry out economic construction as their central task. Practical experiences in the recovery and steady development of our national economy over the past few years prove that this strategic shift conforms to the requirements of the objective law governing the development of our society at the present stage. This strategic shift will further promote the realization of the four modernizations in our country.

From now on, we must never deviate from this focal point of our work again. We must conscientiously keep in step with the party Central Committee and must never forget this focal point of our work at any time. We must do everything possible to build our country into a socialist state with a high degree of civilization and democracy.

CSO: 4005/317

PARTY AND STATE

STUDY OF MAO'S 'ON PROTRACTED WAR' DISCUSSED

OW101429 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 28 Dec 82

[Article by (Zhou Jin) of the PLA Political Academy: "Study the Philosophical Thinking in 'On Protracted War'"]

[Excerpts] "On Protracted War" is a military thesis imbued with rich and profound Marxist philosophical thinking. Penetrated with the spirit of seeking truth from facts, the soul of Mao Zedong Thought, throughout his writing the article vividly reflects subjective and objective dialectical unity. I shall discuss what I have learned from the article especially in two aspects:

1. Persist in Using Objective and Overall Views To Observe the Sino-Japanese War and Correctly Understand and Grasp the Characteristics and Law of the War

First, Comrade Mao Zedong observed the war between China and Japan under a specific historical condition in order to grasp the characteristics of the war at that time.

At the beginning of the section "The basis of the problem," Comrade Mao Zedong wrote: "The war between China and Japan is not just any war, it is specifically a war of life and death between semicolonial and semifeudal China and imperialist Japan, fought in the 1930's. Herein lies the basis of the whole problem."

This passage masterfully summarizes the historical condition under which the Sino-Japanese war occurred and incisively explains the nature and characteristics of the war different from wars at other times.

At a meeting with American Professor Tseng-dao Lee of Chinese origin on 21 March this year, Comrade Hu Yaobang said: Our party celebrates its 61st birthday this year. In the final analysis, our party and government have been able to change the outlook of China and score spiritual achievements, because we keep up with the trend of the times and act in line with the will of the people. The trend of the times is the law of the development and inevitability of history. When a person grasps the characteristics of the times, he will be able to correctly predict the future. We are now in a transitional period in history. Owing to the fact that the party's policy keeps up with the trend of the times and conforms with the demand of the overwhelming majority of people, the political situation will surely stabilize, the four modernizations triumph, and reunification succeed. These are objective laws independent of man's will, to which we must have full confidence.

Next, Comrade Mao Zedong analyzed, in an overall and concrete way, the various factors in the Sino-Japanese war and grasped the basic contrasting characteristics between the two warring parties. Through his analysis of the concrete situations and characteristics in China and Japan, Comrade Mao Zedong generalized four basic contrasting characteristics between the enemy and ourselves. They are as follows: First, in terms of relative strength, Japan was strong, while China was weak, in military, economic and political organizational power. Second, Japan's imperialist war of aggression was reactionary and barbarous, while China was fighting a progressive and just war. Third, Japan was a small country with shortages of manpower and material resources, while China was a big country with vast territory, rich resources, a large population and plenty of soldiers. Fourth, Japan had meagre international support, while China had broad international support.

The afore-mentioned four basic characteristics were connected with, and restricted, each other. They not only correctly reflected the reality, but also revealed the true nature of the war. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The war is a contest between these characteristics." "These characteristics have determined and are determining all political policies and military strategies and tactics of the two sides; they have determined and are determining the protracted character of the war and its outcome, namely, that the final victory will go to China and not to Japan."

Then, Comrade Mao Zedong concretely analyzed the course of the development of the war between China and Japan and grasped the characteristics in various stages of development. Through historical observation of the Sino-Japanese war and analysis of the characteristics of the war at that time and the basic contrasting characteristics between the two warring sides, Comrade Mao Zedong drew the conclusion that, in a protracted war, China would surely win. Next, he used the view concerning the stages of the development of a contradiction to analyze the specific stages in the war. He pointed out: "Because of the afore-mentioned four basic characteristics, this protracted war will pass through three stages: because the enemy is strong and we are weak, the first stage covers the period of the enemy's strategic offensive and our strategic retreat. In the second stage, because of the enemy's shortage of troops and our firm resistance, the enemy will be forced to stop his strategic offensive and enter into strategic consolidation and we will go from strategic retreat to preparation for the counteroffensive. In the third stage, there will be a fundamental change in the quality of the enemy's superior and our inferior strength and we will enforce our strategic offensive and the enemy his strategic retreat until he is driven out of the country and we recover our lost territories and win the final victory."

The analysis of these three stages in the protracted war reflects the course of the development of an objective matter from quantitative and qualitative changes. The reality in the 8-year war thoroughly proves the correctness of Comrade Mao Zedong's scientific analysis and prediction. On the question of the prospect of the war of resistance against Japan, the theorists of national subjugation held that, since Chinese weapons were not as good as the enemy's, the war of resistance would certainly fail, while the exponents of quick victory held that Japan was not strong enough to withstand the war and China would win a quick victory. Both arguments were wrong. Comrade Mao Zedong philosophically repudiated these two erroneous arguments and pointed out: "The tendencies of idealist and mechanical approaches to the question of war are the root cause of all erroneous views in the theory of knowledge."

Studying Comrade Mao Zedong's stand, views and methods in understanding and solving the question of the war of resistance against Japan is of great immediate importance for building the four modernizations. Since the convening of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our country has entered a new historical period. In order to accomplish the gigantic, but arduous, task of the four modernizations, we must, in accordance with dialectical materialism, adopt objective and overall approaches to study and analyze the situation and various contradictions in China, bring to light the law of socialist construction, and formulate, by proceeding from reality and seeking truth from facts, the line, policies, principles and methods in conformity with objective law. The blind optimism that only sees advantageous conditions and thus seeks quick results and victory, and the pessimism which only sees disadvantageous conditions and thus lacks confidence in accomplishing the four modernizations, are both the expressions of subjectivity and one-sidedness, and are erroneous.

## 2. Bring Into Full Play the Conscious Dynamic Role and Win Victory in the War

The conscious, dynamic role is also called subjective activity. Idealists negate the objective existence of materials and exaggerate, without limit, man's dynamic role, while the old materialists one-sidedly emphasized the restriction of objectivity over subjectivity and ignored man's dynamic role. Dialectical materialism upholds the objective reality of the material world, while recognizing man's conscious, dynamic role, combining objective material conditions with man's subjective effort and respect for objective law with the bringing into play the subjective, dynamic role. Comrade Mao Zedong applied the principle of dialectical materialism to the concrete practice of Chinese revolution and stressed, in particular, the importance of giving full play to the conscious, dynamic role on the basis of, and in conformity with, objective reality. This is a very important question and forms a great feature in his philosophical thinking. In "On Protracted War," Comrade Mao Zedong, in a more comprehensive way, summarized the content of the conscious, dynamic role, expounded on its role and major manifestations in war, and stressed the necessity of basing it on objective, material conditions. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Whatever is done has to be done by human beings; protracted war and final victory will not come about without human action. For such action to be effective, there must be people who derive ideas, principles or views from objective facts, and put forward plans, directives, policies, strategies and tactics. Ideas are subjective, while deeds or actions are the subjective translated into the objective, but both represent the dynamic role peculiar to human beings. We term this kind of dynamic role 'man's conscious, dynamic role,' and it is a characteristic that distinguishes man from all other beings." This passage explains that the conscious, dynamic role includes thinking and action and is the unity between cognition and practice. Interpreting the dynamic role simply as man's cognitive and spiritual activities is one-sided.

Based on this fundamental view, Comrade Mao Zedong put forward the view that, under given conditions, victory or defeat in war is decided by the conscious, dynamic role. He said: "War is a contest of strength, but the original pattern of strength changes in the course of war. Here the decisive factor

subjective effort--winning more victories and committing fewer errors. The objective factors provide the possibility for such change, but, in order to turn this possibility into an actuality, both correct policy and subjective effort are essential. It is then that the subjective plays the decisive role." Comrade Mao Zedong, on the one hand, affirmed the decisive role of objective material condition in victory or defeat in war and, on the other, explicitly admitted that, under given conditions, the conscious, dynamic role, or subjective effort, also plays a decisive role in war.

Through the study of Comrade Mao Zedong's idea about bringing into full play the conscious, dynamic role, we hold that it is necessary to pay keen attention to the following three aspects: First, it is necessary to fully understand the great significance of the conscious, dynamic role in promoting progress of things and overcome the coward's and sluggard's way of thinking which negates man's subjective activity, attempts nothing and accomplishes nothing, and submits to the will of heaven. Second, it is necessary to build the conscious, dynamic role on the basis permitted by objective conditions and overcome subjectivism, which disrespects objective conditions and law and exaggerates subjective activity. Third, it is necessary to attach importance to the guidance of correct understanding and ideas for practice and overcome the blindness in action, which regards the dynamic role as purely actions and deeds, dishonors science and ignores theoretical guidance.

Studying Comrade Mao Zedong's idea about bringing into play the conscious, dynamic role in war, is of great immediate significance for us in bestirring ourselves with revolutionary enthusiasm and dedicating ourselves to building the four modernizations. In winning victory in war, it is necessary to bring into play the conscious, dynamic role. Likewise, in winning victory in construction, it is necessary to bring into play the conscious, dynamic role.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: Comrade Mao Zedong once said: Man must have spirit. Guided by the correct, political principles in the protracted revolutionary war, we proceeded from the analysis of reality, brought into play revolutionary enthusiasm and death-defying spirit, the spirit of strictly observing discipline and making self-sacrifices, selflessness and the spirit of putting others before oneself, the spirit of crushing all enemies and surmounting difficulties, the spirit of adhering to revolutionary optimism and overcoming difficulties in winning victory and won the great victory. Likewise, in socialist construction and the building of the four modernizations, we must vigorously bring into full play such spirits under the leadership of the party Central Committee. To build China into a unified, prosperous and powerful socialist country is the aspiration and demand of the masses of people and inevitable historical development. So long as we maintain political unity with the party Central Committee, resolutely implement the line, principles and policies formulated by the party Central Committee, and bring into full play the conscious, dynamic role, we will certainly win victory for our cause.

## PARTY AND STATE

### MAO WORK ON CHINA'S REVOLUTIONARY WAR NOTED

OW110120 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 26 Dec 82

[Article by (Luo Baohou) of the PLA Political Academy: "Correctly Understand Objective Laws, Display Our Conscious Dynamic Role"]

[Excerpts] "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War" states a scientific conclusion--a conclusion obtained from the application of dialectical materialism and historical materialism--on the great debate between two military lines and two different ways of thinking about the history of a decade of bloody revolutionary war in China. The central theme that runs through the article is: The subjective must correspond to the objective, and a war must be studied and directed in the spirit of seeking truth from facts in accordance with China's actual situation. The most prominent feature of this article is its discussion of military affairs from a philosophical viewpoint and its discussion of philosophical concepts from a military viewpoint. Now, I would like to say a few words about my personal experience in studying the principal philosophical concepts in this article:

First, understanding the requirement that the subjective must correspond to the objective is the key factor in understanding the laws of warfare. By applying to warfare the Marxist theory of knowledge, Comrade Mao Zedong summed up our party's rich experience in fighting a revolutionary war and the lessons learned from following the leftist dogmatism, and he put forward the basic methods of understanding the laws of warfare.

Second, to study the laws of warfare, we must pay special attention to its characteristics and development and master the dialectics between ordinary and special situations. With regard to the relationship between ordinary and special situations, Comrade Mao Zedong specifically studied the special situation of the revolution in China and made a scientific analysis of its time, location and nature in order to understand the characteristics of the revolutionary war in China. He scientifically concluded that China's revolutionary war was waged in a vast semi-colonial country which was unevenly developed politically and economically and which had gone through a revolution.

Finally, I would like to discuss the realistic aspects of studying this article: This military work of Comrade Mao Zedong is an example of observing and solving practical problems with dialectical materialism and historical materialism. To study this military article, we must pay attention to the Marxist stand, viewpoints and methods in this example, uphold the party's ideological line and raise our consciousness of implementing the general program of the 12th Party Congress. For this reason, comrades of all trades and professions must earnestly study these fundamental viewpoints and methods and apply them in the great practice of creating a new situation for socialist modernization.

Now I would like to develop my discussion in two respects:

First, we must be objective and comprehensive in observing problems, proceed from reality in doing everything and study our country's situation in the spirit of seeking truth from facts. In war as well as in construction, we must analyze their characteristics and discover their fundamental laws. Only by adhering to the ideological line of proceeding from reality in doing everything and seeking truth from facts can we chart a specific line for socialist construction that suits the Chinese situation.

Our mistakes in the past were primarily caused by our vague notion of our nation's situation. Sometimes we mechanically copied and followed foreign countries' experiences; occasionally our subjective demands exceeded the objective possibilities. Consequently, our economic construction suffered from serious setbacks.

Then, what sort of fundamental characteristics should we keep in mind while carrying out economic construction? First, our country is a big country abounding in natural wealth; it has vast territory, rich natural resources, a temperate climate and a good geographical location. Second, it has 1 billion people, among whom 800 million are peasants. Third, it has a poor foundation to start with, and its cultural, scientific and technological development is relatively backward. Fourth, some of its rich natural resources have yet to be developed, some have not yet been thoroughly investigated, and the nation's economic development is very uneven. And fifth, it has the leadership of the party and it has a socialist economic foundation based on public ownership, and so it has a fairly sound material foundation for socialist construction.

Now let us study these characteristics in a comprehensive manner. We can see that there are favorable factors and conditions, such as the first and the fifth characteristics, which show us the objective possibilities and the favorable subjective factors. A combination of these two aspects show that China has the potentials of becoming a modern country, but that, as the fifth characteristic shows, China's modernization must be socialist in nature. The second, third and fourth characteristics prescribe the protracted nature of our country's socialist construction and the necessity of fostering the strategic thinking of fighting a protracted war. If we ignore the fundamental national characteristics, such as the large population, poor foundation, backward scientific and technological development and low productivity and the 800 million peasants, and if we are eager for quick success and attempt to accomplish everything in one single stroke, we will certainly make the mistake of trying to win quick victory.

On the other hand, it is also incorrect if we fail to see the favorable factors but only see the problems, maintain the modernization is but a dim illusion, and even become pessimistic and disappointed. If we carefully study our country's history and current situation and analyze the nation's situation objectively and comprehensively, we must admit that our country's economic construction must be carried out in accordance with our situation, and that we must not mechanically follow the models of other countries.

As Comrade Deng Xiaoping said in his opening speech at the 12th Party Congress: "Things in China must be managed in the Chinese way and with the Chinese people's own efforts. In our modernization program, we must proceed from China's realities. Both in our revolution and construction, we should learn from foreign countries and draw on their experience. But mechanical copying and application of foreign experience and models will get us nowhere. We have had many lessons in this respect. To integrate the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete realities of China, blaze a path of our own and build socialism with Chinese characteristics--this is the basic conclusion we have reached in summing up long, historical experience.

Second, our conscious dynamic role in building socialism must be brought into play on the basis of respecting the objective laws. The 12th Party Congress pointed out: The general task of the Communist Party of China in this new historical period is to unite the people of all our nationalities in working hard and with self-reliance to achieve step by step the modernization of our industry, agriculture, national defense and science and technology and to make China a culturally advanced and highly democratic socialist country. To accomplish this general task, we must proceed from our nation's realities, do what we are capable of and struggle actively to attain our goal of modernization by states. Doing what we are capable of means that we must respect the objective law, uphold materialism and work out our plan on a basis that is objectively possible. Struggling actively means that we must bring our dynamic role into play, guard against mechanical materialism and adhere to dialectical-materialism. Although we are confronted with many unfavorable conditions, such as a poor foundation and a huge population, which have adversely affected and hindered our country's rapid economic construction, we must bring our dynamic role into play and work actively to explore, create, do solid work and surmount all kinds of obstacles blocking our way. By no means should we wait for and depend on assistance or demand assistance. This requires our comrades of all areas and all departments to bring their dynamic role into full play, proceed from realities in their areas, departments and units and integrate the central authorities' principles and policies with their realities so that the party's principles and policies can be effectively implemented and their tremendous strength can be exerted.

Man's conscious dynamic role has its ideological and practical aspects, which are closely integrated and which can only be correctly brought into play when they are comprehensively understood. The guideline put forward by the party Central Committee--that the building of material and spiritual civilizations must be carried out simultaneously--is a strategic concept which has enriched and developed Comrade Mao Zedong's theory of giving full play to man's conscious dynamic role under the new historical conditions.

Spiritual civilization is principally composed of two aspects. One aspect concerns the scale and achievements in our country's education, science, culture, art, publication, radio and television broadcasts, sports, public health and others. The other aspect can be generalized into revolutionary ideals, ethics and discipline with communist ideology and education as their core. This requires us to foster communist ideology, the attitude of serving the people wholeheartedly and the collective spirit of fighting in unity, which are required to arouse the enthusiasm of the people throughout the country to build socialism, bring their conscious dynamic role into the fullest play, pool their wisdom and efforts and strive to attain China's socialist modernization under the current situation.

CSO: 4005/316

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'BEIJING REVIEW' EXAMINES 1982 EVENTS

HK100207 Beijing BEIJING REVIEW in English No 1, 3 Jan 83 pp 18-24

[Article by Li Ning: "1982, a Year of Mounting Troubles," Part I--passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] /--The year that has just passed witnessed a world in greater turbulence than the year before.

--An economic crisis, the worst since World War II, battered the entire capitalist world. The Soviet and East European economies were in bad shape.

--Worldwide economic difficulties led to sharpening international contradictions. U.S.-Soviet rivalry became fiercer. North-South relations were strained. Frictions among the United States, Western Europe and Japan increased. The Iran-Iraq War continued. Two separate regional wars broke out in the Middle East and South America.

--Both Washington and Moscow were further weakened in their ability to control and influence international events.

--Most Third World countries, while experiencing economic troubles, pushed forward their struggle against hegemonism, imperialism and colonialism in order to maintain national independence and develop their national economies. Third World solidarity and cooperation was strengthened.

--In this complicated, tumultuous international situation, China enjoyed stability and unity, pursuing its modernization programme. By following an independent foreign policy, China helped promote Third World unity, oppose hegemonism and maintain world peace./

### World Economy Goes From Bad to Worse

Starting in 1980, most countries have been in the grips of an economic crisis or serious economic difficulties. The situation became worse in 1982. Many Western observers became alarmed that the world was on the brink of a great depression similar to that of the 1930s. In fact, the crisis in the capitalist world is the longest, most extensive and most profound since World War II. Moreover, the developing countries are bearing the brunt of the crisis because of Western efforts to shift it to them.

The Western economic crisis also affected Soviet and East European economies, aggravating their difficulties. International economic relations as a whole became strained and uneasy.

/1) Economic growth decreased./

Western countries were bogged down in "stagflation" following the 1973-75 economic crisis. Since 1980, their production has steadily declined. The annual growth rate of the gross national product of the 24 member states of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) averaged 1.3 per cent in 1980, 1.2 per cent in 1981 and 0.2 per cent in 1982 (estimated figure). Some even have registered a negative growth for two consecutive years.

U.S. production slumped twice in three years, a phenomenon unprecedented in post-war U.S. history. President Reagan admitted on November 20 last year that the U.S. economy was in a mess.

Japan developed rapidly in the postwar years, achieving an average annual economic growth rate of 8.2 percent between 1950 and 1979. But its production growth plummeted to 2.7 per cent in 1981 and a further drop is expected when the 1982 figures are released.

The crisis forced the governments of all Western countries to adjust their economic policies. Britain and the United States raised interest rates, tightened controls on money supply, cut taxes and slashed government spending. France and some other countries maintained policies aimed at expanding demand and stimulating investments. But all these policies, old and new, proved ineffective and had to undergo some changes in the course of their implementation.

As the crisis deepened, unemployment and bankruptcies skyrocketed. More than 30 million are jobless in the West, with the unemployment rate of the United States and Western Europe at 10 percent or higher. In many countries a postwar record number of enterprises have gone out of business. Among the failed companies were some large firms within rising industries and some reputable banks.

Meanwhile, these countries' finances deteriorated. Some of them had planned to reduce or even wipe out deficits, but failed. The U.S. Government's 1982 deficits were a record high of US\$110.7 billion. Japan's astronomical deficits forced the Suzuki cabinet to declare the country's finances in a state of emergency. The tide of red ink inevitably led to deepening inflation. Some countries eased inflation by tightening control on the money supply and cutting budgets, but the results were hard to maintain for long and risked causing an adverse effect. In short, Western countries in 1982 failed to get rid of the "stagflation" inherited from the previous economic crises. On the contrary, they let it become worse, in a vicious circle.

The developing countries' economic growth has been poor for four consecutive years. It averaged 0.6 percent in 1981, the lowest in 20 years, and it would probably show an even lower average in 1982. Quite a few experienced negative growth in production. Most had higher inflation and unemployment rates than the developed countries. Some developing countries' economies were close to bankruptcy. One-half of the African states that belong to the rank of the world's poorest countries found their economies in serious danger.

Latin America suffered its first economic slump in more than 10 years. Brazil and Mexico, once regarded as economic miracles, also deteriorated rapidly.

Many Asian and Pacific countries had a reduced economic growth rate. The once better-off oil-exporting Middle East countries slowed down production because of a surplus in oil supply and the oil price had been pushed down. Negative economic growth was also observed for the first time in some Third World countries that are engaged in processing industries and exporting processed products.

The year 1982 also was the worst postwar year for the Soviet Union and other East European countries in terms of economic development. Their economic growth had blackened for several years, the 1982 increase being the biggest. The 1982 Soviet industrial output value was projected to increase only 2.8 percent over 1981, the lowest increase rate since World War II. No wonder Yuri Andropov, in his first comprehensive policy speech after he took offices, listed the drawbacks and difficulties in all the Soviet economic sectors. Furthermore, Soviet economic reform was retarded by extensive resistance and compounded by heavy military spending and external commitments. According to Western estimates, the 1982 East European economic growth rate might be less than 2 percent and showed few indicators for quick recovery.

/2) World trade shrank and international financial relations were unstable./

For many years before 1981, the total world trade volume increased at a faster pace than the total value of world production. But in the past two years, world trade has dwindled. The 1981 actual trade volume decreased by US\$30 billion from 1980, and that of 1982 was estimated to be US\$50 billion lower than 1981. The overwhelming majority of countries experienced a drop in imports and exports. Even Japan, which depends on external trade, experienced a 5-percent reduction in exports in 1982. The U.S. high interest rate policy exacerbated world trading difficulties and upset international financial markets.

Under the impact of the economic recession, Western countries leaned to protectionism and high interest policies. These measures, coupled with a big drop in the raw material prices, seriously affected the developing countries' foreign trade. Many incurred huge debts they were unable to repay, thus causing a worldwide credit crisis. Seventeen countries defaulted in 1981 and 26 defaulted in 1982.

Nor did the Soviet Union and other East European countries perform well in international payments. All were short of foreign exchange and in debt, with debts to the West totalling \$80 billion or more. Poland and some other East European countries had to rearrange schedules of debt payments they could not meet. These countries' troubled external economic relations were further aggravated by the high Western interest rates and other protectionist policies, as well as by the U.S. sanctions against the Soviet Union and Poland.

Sluggish world trade and the unstable international credit market, in turn, adversely affected economic growth in all the countries. The gloomy picture of the 1982 world economy, caused by the difficulties within each country and among nations, became the No 1 international concern. The 37th session of the UN General Assembly, in a departure from the tradition of concentrating

on issues of war and peace, focused its attention on world economic problems. In many multinational and bilateral talks, economic issues received much attention. Even the October 1982 meeting of the Warsaw Pact foreign ministers expressed "grave concern" about "the sharpening world economic problems."

Economic crises directly affected the political situation in many countries, throwing their societies into disorder. People became increasingly discontented with rising unemployment, spiralling prices and falling living standards, and class contradictions sharpened. The year 1982 saw a marked escalation in workers' strikes in many countries.

In the West, the anti-nuclear armaments and anti-war movement was on the upswing, the society was in disorder and the crime rate climbed.

In some developing countries, social riots and mass struggles increased, leading to political crises.

With ailing economies and grumbling peoples, the ruling groups in many countries were locked in intensified internal strife, causing an epidemic of changing governments in 1982. Ten West European countries reshuffled their cabinets last year and in some of them, like Italy, new governments came and went in rapid succession. In West Germany, the longstanding Social Democrat Government was forced to quit, and in Japan the Suzuki government was replaced by Nakasone. Helmut Schmidt and Zenko Suzuki, said the Western press, were victims of economic difficulties.

In those countries where elections were held, ruling parties, in most cases, were defeated. Opposition parties concentrated their fire on the ruling parties economic policies while they themselves could not put forward any better ones. In short, the economic crisis over-shadowed all fields of endeavour in most countries.

The worldwide recession aggravated contradictions and conflicts between states, plunging the international situation into greater tension and turbulence. In this situation, the rivalry between the two superpowers for world domination took on some new characteristics.

#### Soviet-U.S. Rivalry Intensified

Rivalry between Moscow and Washington became fiercer in 1982. At the beginning of the year, the Soviet Union launched a "peace offensive" with continued efforts to promote detente and proposals for limiting the nuclear arms race. The United States responded positively, despite its hardline policy. By mid-1982, U.S.-Soviet disarmament talks had been held through a number of channels, and an initial agreement on a summit meeting even had been reached. But later, relations became strained because of a series of U.S. moves--backing the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, extending economic sanctions against Moscow, insisting on deploying new missiles in Europe, and open statements by Reagan and Shultz to help communist countries realize their demand for a change of the present state of affairs at home. Disarmament negotiations made no progress, and the plan for a summit was shelved.

Brezhnev, speaking at a meeting of Soviet army and naval leaders on October 27, bombarded the U.S. policies. The Soviet press let out word that Soviet-U.S. relations could not improve while Reagan was in the White House. These were indications that Moscow, while continuing to keep its hold on the detente banner, had put up a hardline facade to counter the tough U.S. measures. After Brezhnev's death and Andropov's succession as the general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, both sides softened their attitude. But it is not yet clear how Soviet-U.S. relations will develop.

The U.S.-Soviet scramble for world domination in the past year was marked by the following features:

/1) Both were in a worse predicament than before./

The Soviet Union was confronted with a series of headaches. Its economy was in bad shape. Poland still was problematic. The change in the leadership in Kremlin could not but have some impact on Soviet domestic and foreign policies. Continued Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and its support of Vietnam's aggression in Kampuchea increasingly isolated Moscow in the international community and weighed it down like two heavy burdens.

Reports say Soviet assistance to the East European countries and to Vietnam and Cuba--nine in all--amounted to U.S.\$20 billion. Moscow was increasingly unable to satisfy the emergent needs of Poland, Vietnam and Cuba. Last year it reportedly stopped supplying Poland with badly needed hard currency. Soviet exports to Poland were reduced by 15 per cent in the first half of the year, and Moscow failed to keep its promise of providing Poland with some materials. It cut its assistance and subsidies to Vietnam and Cuba and reduced its aid to Ethiopia and South Yemen. Other reports said that it seemed unlikely that in 1982 Moscow would fulfil its plan to increase military spending by 4-5 per cent annually.

Beset with these difficulties, the Kremlin could not but restrain itself a little in pursuing its expansionism. It looked on in impotent fury as Washington displayed aggressiveness in certain regions and on some issues. An outstanding case in point was its inability to take action during Israel's invasion of Lebanon, which caused disappointment and resentment among the PLO, Syria and other hardline countries. Some Western press said the Lebanon crisis was a disgrace to the Soviets comparable to the Caribbean missile crisis in 1962. During the British-Argentine conflict over the Isles Malvinas (Falkland Islands) issue, Moscow also failed to take any important action. These indicated the Soviet Union's weaknesses.

The United States was not in an any better position. The deepening economic crisis made it impossible for President Reagan to beef up U.S. military forces or to increase military spending as much as planned.

Other domestic factors also restricted the U.S. ability to challenge the Soviet Union militarily. One was the mounting anti-nuclear armaments movement, which brought great pressure to bear on the Reagan administration. The outburst of the anti-war movement last June was among the largest in American history. More than 600 U.S. cities and towns voted to freeze nuclear arms at

their present level. Some leading political, military and academic figures, as well as the U.S. Catholic Church also proposed a nuclear freeze and said that first use of nuclear weapons should be outlawed.

The Democrats utilized these popular sentiments as well as the failure of Reaganomics to improve their position through the mid-term elections.

Washington's practice of trying to force others to follow its Soviet policy drew strong resentment from its West European allies and Japan. Furthermore, the United States put itself in opposition to the Third World by favouring Israel and the South African authorities on all issues, by exporting economic crisis and adopting protectionist measures in trade, by maintaining an obstinate position in the North-South dialogue regarding aid to developing countries and by rendering support to Britain during the Malvinas Islands conflict.

Reagan originally planned to wrest concessions from Moscow by resorting to tough measures. However, impeded by domestic and foreign factors, he could not help adjust his tactics. He did not dare to drive things to extremes. Instead, he allowed room for compromise with the Soviets, and was especially cautious about leaving open channels for negotiations and private contacts.

/2) Both sides endeavoured to consolidate their spheres of influence and maintain their vested interests./

Moscow augmented its occupation forces in Afghanistan from some 90,000 in 1981 to about 100,000 in 1982. But at the same time, in order to reduce the financial burden of its hegemonism and extricate itself from isolation, it also attempted political manoeuvres to settle the Afghanistan problem favourably to its interests. It also built up its military forces in the Asian and Pacific region, supported Vietnam's intensified aggression in Kampuchea, and reinforced its military bases in Indochina. It tried to stabilize the situation in Poland, opposing U.S. and other Western countries' attempts of political subversion there. It fought U.S. economic sanctions against Poland and itself.

Similarly, Washington backed and abetted Israel's invasion of Lebanon in a bid to drive out Soviet influence in the Middle East and keep its superiority in the area. It increased support for South Africa and tried to expand its influence throughout the African continent.

It stepped up work in Latin America. Exploiting economic difficulties of Central American countries, it formed, to the exclusion of Cuba and Nicaragua, an organization for the promotion of peace and democracy in the region. It dished out a package plan for aiding the Caribbean region while bringing pressure to bear upon Cuba and Nicaragua in order to isolate the two countries. The Cuban and Nicaraguan governments repeatedly expressed interest in a rapprochement with Washington, hoping it would lift the embargo against Cuba and resume economic relations with Nicaragua. The White House, however, took the opportunity to ask them to halt support for the guerrilla forces in other Central American countries, and to ask Cuba to withdraw its forces from Angola.

/3) Both sides sought to weaken each other./

Last year Washington made an extraordinary effort to publicize Soviet difficulties. Reagan said that since his election, the Soviets "haven't expanded into an extra square inch." This propaganda campaign derived from U.S. political needs. Washington regarded Poland and the economic troubles of the Soviet Union and other East European countries as Soviet weak spots, and wanted to make use of them to cripple Moscow. The 1983 U.S. defense report said that the United States should not necessarily meet Soviet aggression with a direct counterblow where the Soviets had invaded, but instead that it would respond by taking actions in Eastern Europe.

Washington also waged "economic warfare" against Moscow. It limited trade with and credits to the Soviet Union, hoping thus to augment the Kremlin's technological and financial difficulties. The purpose, Washington said, was to force Moscow to restrain itself in its external relations and to make a choice between "guns and butter" at home.

At the same time, the Reagan administration tried, by persuasion and coercion, to make other Western countries follow its lead. The OECD last September listed the Soviet Union as a comparatively rich country. The higher classification permitted the organization to raise the average loan interest rate to the country to 12 per cent, compared with 8.5 per cent the previous year. The OECD also reduced its total Soviet and East European loan by two-fifths after December 1980 and shortened the repayment period from 8 to 5-6 years. In November Reagan announced that his administration had reached an agreement with its allies on tightening controls on giving preferential credits and selling high technology to the Soviet Union.

On the Soviet side, it focused on exploiting contradictions between the United States and other countries, especially the sharpening conflicts between Washington and its European allies. Reagan opposed West European deals with Moscow on the Soviet natural gas pipeline project, but decided to sell large quantities of U.S. grain to Moscow. This contradictory policy angered the West European countries. Seizing this opportunity, Moscow on the one hand made a number of offers to West European nations and, on the other hand, stepped up construction of the pipeline project at home, in an attempt to hold Western Europe tightly to its side by the lure of energy supply and to widen rifts in the Western alliance. It also applied pressure on the West European countries from other directions. For instance, on the issue of reduction of armaments in Europe, especially of deployment of U.S. medium-range missiles in the region, Moscow used the European anti-nuclear armaments and anti-war movement to intimidate and divide West European countries. In addition, judging that the tumultuous Central America was increasingly becoming a hidden menace to the United States, the Soviet Union increased its military presence in the area. Since 1981, Moscow has steadily increased its military supply to Cuba, and its 1982 effort was the biggest in 20 years. It also shipped Mig-23 planes and other military material to the Caribbean island of Grenada. Obviously, these actions were

designed to threaten the United States. One Soviet military commentator said that American strategic discretion in other parts of the world depends on its discretion in the Antilles. If Washington should deploy medium-range missiles in Western Europe, Soviet officials said, Moscow has the capability to take actions close to the United States.

In general, both the Soviets and Americans were trying to exploit each other's weaknesses to build up their own superiority. By so doing, they created some troubles for each other, but neither achieved very much. Their difficulties derived from their awkward positions and policies, and both were also impeded by their allies. Therefore, although they intensified their rivalry, they failed to extricate themselves from the quandary they were in, and their relations were still stalemated.

CSO: 4000/46

## PARTY AND STATE

### ARTICLE ADVOCATES RECRUITING PARTY MEMBERS AMONG INTELLECTUALS

Shanghai SHEHUI KEXUE [SOCIAL SCIENCES] in Chinese No 11, 15 Nov 82 p 8-11

[Article by Shen Wenfeng [3088 2429 6912] and Xiong Zecheng [3574 3419 2052] of the CPC Hunan Provincial Party Committee Party School: "Active Recruitment of Party Members Among Intellectuals is an Important Policy for Party Building in the New Period"]

[Text] In his report to the 12th national congress of the party, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out that we must initiate entirely new prospects in building socialist modernization and that we must give special emphasis to fully promoting the role of the intellectuals. He also pointed out that attention must be paid to active recruitment for party membership of those intellectuals who possess party qualifications. This is an important policy which is suited for party building in the new period.

The policy of paying attention to developing party membership among the intellectuals is in accordance with the fact that intellectuals have already become a part of the working class. Marxism believes that intellectuals are not an independent class. Intellectuals are mental workers. In a class society they ordinarily use knowledge which they possess in certain class services, thus becoming intellectuals of the class which they serve, however, the class membership of each individual is by no means fixed and immutable. They always change in accordance with any changes in the status and role of their actual mental work. After the founding of the New China, there were fundamental changes in our social nature and class conditions and there were huge changes in the conditions of the intellectuals. This was especially true after the socialist transformation was fundamentally complete, "the contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie are already basically resolved." After this profound transformation of class conditions there were corresponding changes in the conditions of the intellectuals. It is just as Comrade Zhou Enlai pointed out when he was representing the central committee of the communist party of China at the all-China conference of intellectuals: "the great majority of intellectuals who came from the old society have

already become state workers, already are serving socialism, and already are a part of the worker class." "At the same time, the party expended a great amount of energy to nourish many new intellectuals, and among these intellectuals there already are a great many who come from the worker class." Comrade Zhou Enlai made this basic appraisal 26 years ago in accordance with the then prevailing conditions of the intellectuals. In the last 20-some years, conditions among the ranks of the intellectuals have changed for the better. On the one hand, several million of the original number of intellectuals have long since escaped their economic dependence on the exploiting classes and have become salaried workers for the socialist state; in political ideology they have had extensive party and worker class education, basic reform of their world view and great improvement of their ideological consciousness. During the 10 years of chaos, most of them were put to a rigorous test which demonstrated their loyalty to the state, the people and the party. During the long period of revolution and construction they made great contributions to the party and the people. On the other hand, since the founding of the nation, our party and the state have themselves produced over five million intellectuals who are college or polytechnic school graduates. From their youth they have been educated in Marxism and socialism. The great majority of them are now struggling in the first lines of production, labor, science and technology, have become the core strength in each prefecture, department and unit and are exercising continuously greater functions. In addition, there also is a great number of cadres with worker or peasant backgrounds who underwent self-study or training on the job to improve their level of science and culture, acquired a command of certain professional knowledge and entered the ranks of the intellectuals. For this very reason the central committee of the CPC has clearly pointed out: "Chinese intellectuals who are living in the New Period of socialist history have already become a part of the worker class, have become mental workers in the worker class. Together with the physical laborers of the working class they constitute the class foundation of the party and just like the workers and the peasants they have become a principal part of society and a reliable source of strength in our effort in socialist revolution and construction. Moreover, our scientific education has not been developed and the broad workers and peasants have a relatively low level of culture and science, so the intellectuals are the part of the working class which has the most modern scientific knowledge and they are the major force to rely on in carrying out construction of modernization and construction of spiritual civilization. The party suggestions that we boldly rely on the intellectuals and value the development of party membership among the intellectuals comes from and is based on this fundamental understanding. This is the realization of Engels' hope concerning college students, "that from their ranks just such a mental labor proletariat would be produced and that their mission would be to play a great role by standing shoulder

to shoulder in the coming revolution with their fellow workers who perform physical labor." (MA-EN QUANJI[COMPLETE WORKS OF MARX AND ENGELS], Vol 22, p 487) To cause the party membership to have both a worker class of physical labor and a worker class of mental labor is an important measure in reflecting, preserving and strengthening the party's working class nature and progressive nature.

Emphasis on developing party membership among the intellectuals is an important condition for improving party quality and refining party structure. It must be understood that our past emphasis on developing party membership among the worker-peasant laboring classes was entirely correct. However, it cannot be denied that for a certain period there was neglect of the work of developing party membership among the intellectuals. There now are 40 million party members throughout the nation but only 15.8 percent of them have a cultural level beyond middle school so that very few of them understand modern specialized or technical knowledge. This is especially true of a portion of the cadres who have low levels of Marxist theory, low levels of professional and technical skills and a low professional level. Yet, for a variety of reasons, a number of intellectuals who have undergone long term training and who are qualified for party membership have not been properly valued or correctly employed. It is obvious that these conditions are incompatible with the demands that construction of modernization place on the building of our party organization. In order to respond to the special features and demands of the new period and to improve these conditions, the new party constitution adopted by the 12th national congress of the party places stricter demands on party members and party cadres, not only requiring that party members must "conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, essential knowledge concerning the party and the party's line, principles, policies and decisions," but moreover demand that they "learn scientific, cultural and professional knowledge." The new party constitution not only demands that party cadres must "be fervently dedicated to the revolutionary cause and imbued with a strong sense of political responsibility," they also must "be qualified for their leading posts in organizational ability, general education and vocational knowledge." These are not found in any previous party constitutions. These regulations from the new party constitution clearly point out the direction and path of development in building our party. It can be seen that the new socialist period is placing new demands on party building. These are that in addition to the requirement that present party members and party cadres quickly improve their own level of knowledge, the intellectuals are an extremely important source for the party to supplement its blood supply, strengthen its organization and train and promote party cadres.

Emphasis on developing party membership among the intellectuals has been an important policy which responds to the demands made on party leadership of construction of modernization in the new

period. The party tasks in the new period are to lead the whole people in constructing a modernized, highly civilized and highly democratic socialist state. The party's assumption of this heavy burden urgently requires that the whole party improve its level of culture and knowledge and gradually become knowledgeable. This is because, in the final analysis, carrying out construction of modernization means improving labor productivity and this can only be accomplished on the foundation of progressive modernized technology. The report to the 12th national congress of the party reaffirmed: "Science and technology are the keystone of modernization." This requires rapid improvement of the intellectual level throughout the whole party and recruiting a large number of superior intellectuals into the party will effectively strengthen the party's intellectual forces and promote general improvement of the intellectual level throughout the whole party.

Emphasis on development of party membership among the intellectuals not only responds to the needs of construction of modernization and party building but also is determined by the important status and role of the intellectuals themselves. Intellectuals are in the forefront of an era, especially in periods of historical change, when it is always the intellectuals who first sense the pulse of the era. They make appeals to the progressive class and provide the progressive class with theoreticians, thinkers and agitators as well as leaders. Progressive intellectuals are both the creators of socialist theories as well as the practitioners of the communist movement. Lenin once pointed out: "Socialist theories matured among cultivated people of the propertied class as well as intellectuals who created philosophical, historical and economic theories." (LENING XUANJI [SELECTED WORKS OF LENIN] Vol 1, p 247) Marx and Engels were theoreticians who created scientific socialism and the leaders of the proletariat. The scientific theories they created exposed the developmental laws of human society and pointed out the revolutionary path of the proletariat and the masses. During the period of the democratic revolution Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that intellectuals "in the current stage of the Chinese revolution frequently fill the role of pioneers and links." (MAO ZEDONG XUANJI [SELECTED WORKS OF MAO ZEDONG] Single Volume Edition, p 604) There is ample evidence of the pioneering and linking roles of intellectuals in both the history of the international communist movement and the history of the Chinese revolutionary struggle. Many of our older generation proletarian revolutionaries and untold numbers of excellent communist party members have backgrounds as intellectuals and they made extremely great contributions to proletarian endeavors, some even sacrificing their lives for the revolution. The number of examples defies enumeration. This was the case during the proletarian struggle for power and during the socialist period this major role of the intellectuals not only did not abate, it followed the party's shift of work emphasis to economic construction, becoming even more prominent. Stalin once pointed out that during the economic construction following victory in the proletarian

struggle for power, if the party was unable to develop its own intellectuals, was unable to control science and unable to manage the economy according to scientific principles the proletariat and the broad masses would then not be able to truly become masters of the state. He moreover clearly stated: "We now cannot be limited to training a few average communist party cadres who can do a little of everything, ...we require untold numbers of new Bolshevik cadres who can become experts in all departments of knowledge." "The present task is to train new Bolshevik cadres in each area of knowledge." (SIDALIN QUANJI [COMPLETE WORKS OF STALIN] Col 11, p 65-66) Under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin the Soviet Union placed real emphasis on recruiting party members among the intellectuals and training Bolshevik expert cadres, promoting socialist construction and establishing a strong material base. During the period of the democratic revolution, our party placed great emphasis on recruiting intellectuals for the ranks of the revolutionary brigades and the party brigades. In 1939, a resolution that Comrade Mao Zedong wrote for the CPC central committee directed: "The parties in all battle areas and all party armies should recruit large numbers of intellectuals into our armies, schools and government work.... Moreover, the party should recruit some intellectuals who have the proper qualifications." Comrade Mao Zedong also criticized some local party organizations which tended to be unwilling to recruit intellectuals into the party as he believed that the occurrence of the situation was based on a lack of understanding of the importance of intellectuals in the revolution. After the entire country was liberated, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out to the whole party: "If the proletariat does not have great ranks of technicians and theoreticians socialism cannot be built." The great value placed on the intellectuals by both the guides of the revolution and the central committee of the party, the successful practices in recruiting intellectuals into the party, the intellectual socialism prevalent after founding the nation--the resulting improvement of communist ideology, and especially the realistic efforts the intellectuals made in devoting themselves to building socialism all testify to the fact that the recruitment of qualified intellectuals into the party was determined by the great usefulness and high level of awareness of the intellectuals themselves.

The strong, repeated emphasis by the central committee of the party on recruiting members among the intellectuals is an extremely important and thoroughly correct major policy made in response to the demands of party building in the new period. It reflects the objective laws of party development and points out the correct direction for party building. However, there is not complete unanimity of understanding in this regard and the process of carrying out the actual work inevitably encounters various obstacles. Because the influences of the long period of "leftism" have not been completely eliminated there are some cadres in the party who still lack adequate understanding of the importance of

intellectuals. They are not adequately aware of the improvements in the intellectuals' ideological consciousness and their practical contributions and still see intellectuals as targets for "unification, education and reform" rather than as a strength upon which to rely. There is a small number of leading cadres who do not act in the party's interests but who rather think of their own selfish benefits and who believe that intellectuals are "disobedient." These cadres even fear that after joining the party these intellectuals will take their jobs away so they place unnecessary restrictions on their party membership. Some leading cadres have a metaphysical thought process and demand perfection of the intellectuals in the belief that they are "impractical" and "immature." In short, to correctly and thoroughly implement this important policy it is necessary to completely eliminate the entirely mistaken viewpoint which was contemptuous of education, science and culture and prejudiced toward intellectuals that has long existed and which reached its greatest heights during the "Great Cultural Revolution." (GUANYU JIANGUOYILAI DANGDE REGAN LISHI WENTI JUEYI [THE RESOLUTION ON CERTAIN QUESTIONS IN THE HISTORY OF OUR PARTY SINCE THE FOUNDING OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA]) This important policy can be implemented by correcting the attitude and understanding of intellectuals, restoring the reputation the intellectuals ought to have and giving the intellectuals their rightful status.

There are two problems which should now be noted in correctly implementing the policy of recruiting party members among the intellectuals: one is to proceed actively and boldly while maintaining correct control of the qualifications for party membership. The qualifications for intellectuals to join the party must be the same as for those of workers and peasants and any tendency to make overly strict demands on or discriminating against intellectuals must be avoided and overcome. This then requires that in party organizations on all levels the comrades in charge of party tasks and organizational work correct their guiding ideology and overcome all prejudice. At the same time, party principles must be firmly upheld and party members must be recruited strictly according to party standards. In addition, it is necessary to avoid being too emphatic about technical proficiency while neglecting to investigate political consciousness and ideological qualities and not making sure that their qualifications are complete, thus dragging unqualified people into the party. Care must be taken that avoidance of one tendency does not conceal a different tendency. The second point is that concurrent with the emphasis on recruitment we must step up the training, education and ideological work directed towards the intellectuals. Comrade Zhou Enlai once pointed out: "The study of Marxism-Leninism is of decisive importance in establishing among the intellectuals a revolutionary view of life and a scientific view of the world." Party organizations on all levels must carry out Marxist education of the intellectuals and create conditions for them to study revolutionary theory in

order to make sure they have a securely established proletarian world view. As for the weaknesses and shortcomings of the intellectuals, the party organizations should quickly point them out and conduct suitable criticism to help them in resolving their ideological contradictions and problems and educate them to give wholehearted service to the people. There should be unity of training, education and employment in order to completely utilize the technical and professional skills of the intellectuals and they should be given tasks and responsibilities to derive training through actual experience, train their organizational abilities, improve their management level and make them into red and expert human talent to carry out socialist construction. Implementation of the policy of actively recruiting party members among the intellectuals will make progress in developing the role of the intellectuals, will help improve the level of science, culture and leadership in the party and will strongly promote our efforts in building socialism.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### IDEOLOGICAL-POLITICAL WORK LINKED TO ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION

Guangzhou GUANGZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 24 Nov 82 p 1

[Article by Chen Yimen 7115 0001 3046]: "Ideological and Political Work is an Important Guarantee for Economic Construction"

[Text] We are in a new historical period now. After smashing the Jiangqing counterrevolutionary clique, and in particular, after the third plenary session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our Party has put down rebellion and restored order, rectified Leftist errors, and shifted the key point in work to economic construction. Economic construction has already become the focus of work for the whole Party. Therefore, the ideological and political work in the new period must provide a full guarantee for economic construction and serve economic construction.

Comrade Hu Youbang pointed out in the report of the 12th Party Central Committee: "While building a high material civilization, we must also build a high socialist spiritual civilization." Socialist spiritual civilization is not only a tremendous motivation for material civilization, but also provides a guarantee for the correct orientation of its development." An important task which we are faced with is how to strengthen ideological and political work in the new period so as to promote construction of the spiritual civilization and thus effectively guarantee the construction of a material civilization.

In order to strengthen the ideological and political work in the new period we must first resolve this question: After the focus of the work for the whole Party has been shifted to economic construction, should we or shouldn't we place emphasis on political and ideological work? Some comrades consider that since we take economic construction as the key point at present, ideological and political work is no longer important. We have criticized "Leftist" equalitarianism and restored the award system. This is correct and necessary. However, some comrades take awards as the only means of motivating people to work, and minimize and even negate the necessity for ideological and political work. They say, "A thousand praises are not as good as one award." After criticizing the idealist tendency of the "omnipotence of the spirit" these comrades have gone to the other extreme of the "omnipotence of awards." The method of one-sidedly exaggerating class struggle and expanding class struggle in the past was totally wrong. However, after criticizing "taking

class struggle as the key link," some comrades have neglected the objective fact that class struggle still exists within a certain realm. They have become benumbed by peace. They see but ignore the bourgeois corrosion in the economic, ideological and cultural spheres and do nothing to stop it. Some "Leftists" methods in the ideological and political work in the past should be discarded. However, the required ideological and political work system in certain units has been negated as "leftist." Obviously all the above situations are incorrect. In addition to the onesidedness in ideological methods, the main reason for this is the lack of the necessary understanding of the important role of ideological and political work in the new period and of the relationship between ideological and political work and economic work.

"The resolutions of certain historical questions adopted by the Party since the founding of the country" adopted by the sixth plenary session of the 11th Party Central Committee once again affirm the viewpoint that "ideological and political work is the lifeline of economic work and all other kinds of work. The most important task of ideological and political work is to disseminate to and educate Party members, cadres and masses of people in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, and in particular to educate the cadres on the Marxist world outlook and scientific theories. At present, we must grasp the propaganda and study of the documents of the 12th Party Central Committee as an important event so as to clearly understand the great task and programme of unfolding the new situation of socialist modernized construction on all sides and thus score victory with one heart and one mind, and with full confidence. We must vigorously propagate and advocate communist thoughts, spirit and work style, and in a thorough and protracted manner carry out the activities of the "five particulars and four beauties" so that we can set up a noble trend of morality and revolutionary spirit, energetically embark ourselves on the undertaking of the construction for the four modernizations, and consciously resist corrosion by bourgeois thoughts. We must seriously study the new Party articles, further rectify the Party style, and strengthen the combat power of the Party organization. We must also propagate and set up a legal system with a high degree of socialism and democracy. We must be bold in developing the righteous spirit, resist evil practices and mobilize the masses to fight against the various crimes. In recent years, we have adopted the policies of opening ourselves up to foreign countries and promoting a wide range of economic policies, thus attaining even greater results in the national economy. However, new questions have also emerged, thus the task of the ideological and political work has not been reduced but has increased. If we neglect ideological and political work in economic construction and do not help the Party members and masses to raise their political awareness and ideological level, we cannot implement the Party line and the general and specific policies properly and consequently we cannot guarantee that economic construction will develop along the correct orientation, neither can we unite and encourage the masses of people to continue to liberate their thinking and be bold in overcoming difficulties and fight arduously for the four modernizations. We cannot possibly resist the corrosion of bourgeois ideas. In this way, there is the danger that we may fall short of our greater goal. Summing up the above, can't we see clearly the role of ideological and political work as the lifeline for economic work and an important guarantee for ideological and political work toward economic construction?

Since ideological and political work plays such an important role, we must pay serious attention to it. The ideological and political work of the Party cannot be carried out by a small number of political work cadres alone. We must mobilize all the Party members, cadres and even advanced elements in the masses to take part in it. Leadership cadres at all levels should regard the development of ideological and political work as a responsibility which they cannot shirk. Only through paying attention and concerted efforts can we perform this task properly. Party committees at all levels should place ideological and political work on the agenda as an important item. In order to enable Party Committee members to devote more time and energy to political and ideological work, it is extremely necessary to seriously grasp division of labour in Party work.

We stress the importance and necessity of ideological and political work, but we must absolutely correct the "leftist" mistakes of the past. We should not place ideological and political work in a position where "it can pound against everything," nor should we adopt the past formalist "pretentious, big and empty" method which is divorced from reality and the masses. The ideological and political work of our Party has a longstanding and glorious history, and has a fine, realistic and traditional style, which convinces people with reason, develops democracy and takes the mass line. This fine, traditional work practice must continue to be developed in the new period. We must start from the actual conditions and infuse political and ideological work into economic work and other kinds of work in close relationship to reality and the masses. We must grasp the key link, attack the target, seek actual results and pay attention to adopting many-sided, lively and active forms which are liked by the masses and infuse ideological education into cultural entertainments. Economic construction in the new period has brought about many new situations and new questions, such as the production responsibility system in farming, economic responsibility system in enterprises and the individual economy of workers in the countryside and cities. There are the questions of how to correctly handle the relationship between national interests, collective interests and individual interests. We still lack experience in these aspects. Consequently we must be good at going into the actual situations to carry out investigation and study, and explore and resolve new questions which emerge under the new situation. Only in this way can we better fulfill the important task which the Party and people have entrusted us with.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### QUESTIONS ON CLASS STRUGGLE ANSWERED

Guangzhou GUANGZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 25 Nov 82 p 4

[Article by Ding Ge /0002 2047]: "Several Questions on the Class Struggle in the Present Stage in Our Country"

[Text] Question: Why do we say that the class struggle in the present stage of our country is mainly manifested as the struggle between the people and various hostile elements but does not specify what kind of class struggle between what kinds of classes?

Answer: The class struggle in our country at the present stage is mainly manifested as the struggle between the people and the various hostile elements. The various hostile elements include counter-revolutionary elements, dangerous criminals and new or remnant exploiters and so on. The struggle between the people and the various hostile elements is a class struggle because: firstly, the various hostile elements deliberately sabotage and try to overthrow the socialist system. The interests of this kind of hostile elements are basically opposed to the people's interests. Secondly, some of these hostile elements are the remnants of the old exploiting class or have direct links with the exploitation system, including hostile elements which are linked to the overseas reactionary forces in certain ways. Thirdly, although these people no longer represent the exploitation class in the original sense of the word, they are still a reactionary force and represent a remnant force of the old system. We are not saying that the class struggle in the present stage is the struggle between this class and that class because the exploiting class in the original sense of the word has already been abolished. However, the nature of our struggle against the various kinds of hostile elements is still that of class struggle, because it is linked to the remnant poison of the exploitation system and exploitation classes in history and is the continuation of the former class struggle. The interests of the various hostile elements are basically antagonistic to the interests of the people.

Question: Why isn't the danger of capitalist restoration mentioned in the report of the 12th Party Central Committee?

Answer: The report does not mention the danger of capitalist restoration. However, the report mentions that in socialist society there may be the danger

of "abnormal development and degeneration." This has an even wider sense than the term of capitalist restoration. As seen now, the degeneration of socialist country may not necessarily be capitalist restoration in its original sense. Certainly, there may be the restoration of the capitalist system. The international and internal reactionary forces may join together to restore the old system. However, even though this situation has emerged, there will not be a total restoration of the old system.

Question: Since the exploitation class has basically been abolished, why does the working class, which is the opponent of the exploitation class, still exist? Why are workers, peasants and intellectuals mentioned separately?

Answer: Although the exploitation class, as the opponent of workers and peasants, has been abolished, class struggle has not vanished. Class struggle still exists in a remnant form. There is still capitalism in the world. This is one reason. Let us talk about the people themselves. Since the three big differences created by the old society still exist, although these differences are no longer antagonistic, it cannot be denied that there are still differences in interests. There are differences in the same basic interests. Consequently, there are still differences between workers, peasants and intellectuals. This is the second reason. Therefore the historical mission of the working class in wiping out all classes and all class differences has not yet been fulfilled and it is still necessary to stress the vanguard and model role of the working class. Only after the productive forces have been highly developed with the economic and ideological conditions for wiping out all classes and class differences will the working class accomplish the historical mission of ultimately liberating itself.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### NEED, IMPORTANCE OF CORRECT EDUCATION EXTOLLED

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 21 Nov 82 p 1

[Article: "On the Content of Communist Education"]

[Text] In an editorial entitled "Adhering to Communist Education, Unswervingly Carrying Out the Present Policies" published on 24 November, this newspaper commented on the meaning of communism in different aspects and their mutual relations. Now, we want to continue by discussing the question of the content of communist education.

The first meaning of communism denotes the whole ideological system of the proletariat which is also called the communist ideological system and known as the Marxist ideological system. The Marxist ideological system was first created in the forties of the nineteenth century by Marx and Engels. During the period of imperialism and the proletarian revolution, Lenin carried Marxism onto a new stage and thereby created Leninism. As a result, the ideological system of Marxism-Leninism came into being. In our country, the Chinese communists represented by Comrade Mao Zedong have combined Marxism-Leninism with the reality of the Chinese revolution and thereby created Mao Zedong Thought. Consequently, the ideological system of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought began to take shape.

The communist ideological system is to sum up the entire positive achievements in human history, and especially the scientific theoretical system which has been shaped on the basis of the achievements in both natural and social sciences. The system has continuously been enriched and developed through practice in the past 130 years. It has a very rich content both theoretically and intellectually and embodies substantial historical experience. Our firm belief in communism is founded on the basis of understanding of, and is guided by, this kind of scientific theory. Only by systematically learning Marxism, grasping its basic principle, keeping abreast of the theoretical and intellectual content of the basic principle, and by correctly applying the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method to study and handle problems can we firmly acquire a communist world outlook and become a staunch, mature and politically conscious fighter for communism. Therefore, the first content in conducting communist education should be imbuing the people with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, educating them to get a clear understanding of the direction of social development, to know the laws of social development, and to sharpen

their ability to understand the world and change it. This is the work to lay a foundation.

Judged by the experience of our party over the past decade, it is very important for us to lay this foundation. The most important reason why many of our comrades can make a clear distinction between right and wrong in the face of various erroneous ideas, hold firmly to communism in front of numerous setbacks and difficulties, and get things into shape and stress their essence is that they have a solid foundation of the Marxist world outlook. On the contrary, the reason why some of our comrades cannot make a clear distinction between right and wrong in the face of various erroneous ideas, or become wavering in front of difficulties and setbacks, or look bland before a complicated situation, is that fundamentally they have only a shaky foundation of Marxism. Historical experience tells us that learning and spread of the basic theories of Marxism must be specifically stressed. The most disastrous effect resulting from the 10-year period of calamity and the counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing has been a long-term suspension of our education in the basic theory of Marxism. As a result, the present level of understanding of Marxism in the entire rank and file of our cadres is far from being capable to meet the needs in the construction of the socialist modernizations, and which, in turn, intensifies the urgency and importance of the study of this basic theory. The provincial party committee has repeatedly laid stress that leading cadres at and above the county level must systematically study the four basic courses of Marxist philosophy, political economy, scientific socialism and the history of Chinese revolution. The middle-aged and young cadres have to learn more. Ordinary cadres also must learn the basic knowledge of Marxism, the history of social development and the history of the Chinese revolution. Theoretical study must also be promoted among the broad masses of workers and peasants in order to set off a mass participation in theoretical study. At present, this kind of work has started to achieve successes. If we can further our efforts on a long-term basis, we are bound to achieve greater successes.

Another meaning of communism is that it is a kind of movement. It is impossible that a communist social system can be established overnight by the revolution carried out by the proletariat in any country. The communist social system can be instituted only as a result of a protracted struggle going through various developing stages of the revolution under the guidance of the communist ideological system. That is to say, a complete victory of the communist ideological system can be achieved only through a process of revolutionary practice over a period of considerable length. It is a historical process which has combined the theory of uninterrupted revolution with the theory of the development of revolution by stages. Judged from the history of the international communist movement and the historical experience of our party, there are two different kinds of communist movements and practices, one of which is politically conscious and correct, and the other is unrealistic and erroneous. The politically conscious and correct movement and practice is the one which is under the guidance of the scientific communist ideological system and the correct lines, principles and policies. In this sense, to educate party cadres and the masses of people in a way that

combines the basic principle of Marxism with the concrete practice of revolution or in accordance with the lines, principles and policies of our party should be regarded as an important content of the communist ideological education. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have closely followed the strategic plan of the party Central Committee to organize party cadres and the masses of people to study the correct lines and a series of principles and policies of our party. In this way, we have not only clarified past confusions of one kind or another on the question of communism, deepened the understanding of scientific communism, and dispelled doubts and hesitation toward the future of communism, but the more important is that we have led the present communist movement onto a correct and healthy track for development. And, thanks to the successes achieved in implementing the party's correct lines, principles and policies, people have, in turn, further been educated in communist ideology and have once again recognized the correctness of communist ideology and the bright future of communism. We have to keep up the study perseveringly and in depth. At present and in certain period of time to come, it is necessary for us to conscientiously study, spread and implement the document of the 12th CPC Central Committee. The document of the 12th CPC Central Committee stands for the continuation and development of the lines adopted since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. By applying the communist ideology system, it has made a scientific summation of experience gained during the initial stages of the founding of communism, analyzed the actual situation at the present stage in our country and explicitly put forward a program of struggle for the purpose of building China into a modern and powerful socialist country with a high level of civilization and democracy. It has, on the basis of the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China," further summed up rich experience and raised it to the level of theory, and maintained as well as developed Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Comparing with the past, we now have a much better understanding of socialism and a much deeper comprehension of the laws of the building of socialism. To study the documents of the 12th CPC Central Committee is not only an important political study, it is an important theoretical study as well. It is a theoretical study on the question of how to build a large country which contains 1 billion people including 800 million peasants and is relatively backward both economically and culturally into a modern and powerful socialist country with a high level of civilization and democracy. The document of the 12th CPC Central Committee embodies refined languages, rich content and profound thoughts. Without a thorough understanding of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, of the historical experience, or of the realistic situation both at home and abroad, it is not easy to make a penetrating study of the document. In studying the document of the 12th CPC Central Committee, it is necessary to combine it with the study of the basic theories of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, with the summation of historical experience, and with the integration of the present ideological and working reality. Only by intensified penetration can we understand the basic gist of the document of the 12th CPC Central Committee, enhance our awareness and steadfastness in implementing it, and politically reach a high level consensus with what the party Central Committee requires of us.

Still another meaning of communism indicates that the most ideal and glorious social system to be realized in the future is the communist social system. In a communist society, productive forces in society will increase rapidly and there will be plenty of products. The communist principle of "from each according to one's ability, to each according to one's needs" will make people feel that labor is a pleasure. Classes will cease to exist. The difference in classes, all important differences in society and social inequality will all be abolished. All people will be imbued with a high level of communist political awareness and moral character. Everybody will become a real freeman who can be developed in an all-round way. This is our ultimate goal. In order to enable people to closely integrate the present practice with the future communist social system, we have carried out education in communism and shall conduct education in communist ideals for the purpose of teaching people to know that a path towards the ideal state of communism should be opened up by taking actual action to accomplish one's own job and the tasks in front of us, that we should apply the spirit of communism in learning, laboring, work and in our daily life, and that we must apply the communist ethics to handle relations between man and man, to establish and develop a new type of social relations which will reflect the socialist spiritual civilization. This kind of education must be conducted both destructively and constructively. Since last year, we have launched such activities as the "five stresses and four points of beauty" campaign and the "socialist ethics and courtesy month" movement which have played a valuable part in promoting and cultivating people's communist values of morality to keep our ideology and action within the bounds of communist ethics. From now on, we have to turn this activity into a regular practice and to have it institutionalized. It is necessary to continue to widespreadly launch activities like "civilized plant," "civilized store," "civilized school," "civilized street," "civilized village," "five-good units," "five-good family," and so forth. At the same time, for the purpose of effectively conducting communist ideological education, we must unremittingly wage struggles against a variety of ideologies, moral concepts and the influence of old habits of the exploiting class, help people deepen their understanding of Marxism through comparison and appraisal so as to strengthen their belief in communism. In conducting anticorrosion education, it is necessary to combine it with the struggle to crack down on serious criminal activities in the economic sphere as well as other spheres. Experience in practice proves that only by simultaneously praising the lofty ideas and actions and exposing the ugly phenomena with are neither civilized nor moral, and by positively imbuing correct ideologies and at the same time criticizing erroneous ones can we take a clear-cut stand to carry out education in communist ideas and ethics and make it vivid and dramatic, striking root in the hearts of the people and full of strength.

Since communist education has substantial content, it is not advisable to be too limited in understanding and too superficial in implementing. If so, the substantial communist education would become a few simple formulae and a few empty slogans. In conducting communist education, it is necessary to understand its rich content and to closely link it up with reality in accordance with the original meaning of communism. In so doing, can we then make this task attractive, convincing and militant so that it can take root, blossom and bear fruit in people's minds and hearts.

## PARTY AND STATE

### TEST XIAN LEVEL PARTY REORGANIZATION REPORTED

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 28 Nov 82 p 2

[Article by Li Hongye [2621 3163 2814], Secretary of the Linkou County Party Committee: "Party Consolidation—Decisive Direction Toward Realizing the Basic Improvement in the Party Work Style"]

[Text] Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out in his report to the 12th Party Central Committee: "Beginning from the second half of the next year, we plan to take 3 year's time to consolidate the party work style and party organization by stages and in turn." This is a matter of prime importance in our party building which is a wise policy decision enthusiastically welcomed by the whole party and the people throughout the country.

Both the provincial and the prefectural party committees decided in 1981 to select our Linkou County as an experimental unit to implement party consolidation. In the two years since serving as an experimental unit, practice has enabled us to know more clearly about the importance, possibility and necessity of handling well the work of party consolidation, and proved that handling well the work of party consolidation is a decisive measure toward realizing the basic improvement in the party work style.

First, viewing the importance of party consolidation from the aspects of the problems existing in the party work style in our county. The main organizational and ideological trends of our party at all levels in our Linkou County are good. However, owing to the misfortunes caused by the 10-year period of turmoil, the unhealthy tendencies within our party have become relatively serious. Judged from the problems exposed during the initial stages of party consolidation, "house," "children," "coupons" and "position" are the main problems which a part of our party member cadres in organizations directly under the county party committee are concerned about. Some of them have resorted to all sort of tricks to build private houses by embezzling public funds and public properities. Some others have transgressed policies when recruiting workers, recruiting cadre, changing people's work status, or in transferring agricultural workers to non-agricultural households; they also have practiced nepotism or handled personnel affairs via the backdoor. Still others have, in violation of laws of finance and economics, delayed repayments of public funds overdue. Leading cadres above the section level have never united as one but are mutually distrustful. And some of the party member

leading cadres have become seriously imbued with the bureaucratic work style and have an ossified way of thinking without any sense of responsibility. The masses have, over a long period of time, responded strongly against it. The party's prestige has been jeopardized and its fighting strength weakened. A host of facts have proved that it is imperative for us to carry out the task of party consolidation throughout the country put forward by the party Central Committee.

Second, we look at the possibilities of handling well party consolidation as seen from the practice of the party consolidation experiment in our county. At the time when the experiment of party consolidation was about to start in our county last year, some of our comrades did not have much faith in it and thought that it would not solve problems but would effect relations with the masses and thereby dampen their enthusiasm. Practice proves that such doubts are unnecessary. In implementing party consolidation, we have developed the spirit of pressing forward in the face of difficulties, persisted in proceeding from reality and paid special attention to rather consolidated problems to which people exhibited the strongest reactions. We have stressed the consolidation of our party member's ideology and of the core of leadership of the county party committee. We have also adopted such measures as consolidating the upper level to encourage the lower ones to move along, consolidating the party to give government organs, enterprise units and public agencies an example to follow, and by consolidating the party work style to influence the popular morale to turn for the better in a way that we can correct while consolidating. At the same time, we have earnestly and conscientiously carried out party member registration and dealt with the problem of party organization. As a result, we have achieved encouraging progress in rectifying the party work style. Taking for example only the 87 party branches directly under the county party committee, some of the most important unhealthy tendencies have basically been checked. For instance, public funds and properties worth 124,000 yuan which were formerly embezzled for building private houses have been recalled, 47 people have been redressed for placing personal favorites by "the back door," a sum of 222,000 yuan of overdue public funds has been collected, and some of the criminal cases in the economic sphere have been openly handled. The prestige of the party has been rehabilitated and enhanced. Practice proves that handling party consolidation well is a successful experience in party building and a decisive measure toward realizing the basic improvement in the party work style.

Third, we view the urgency of handling well party consolidation from the aspects of a ruling party's political position and the mission it faces. Since our party has become the ruling party of the whole country, the following pattern can be seen: when party building is well handled, the socialist revolution and construction will grow and flourish, otherwise, our revolution and construction suffers setbacks and meets with failure. In order to pledge to fulfill the general mission of our party in the new historical period, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out in his report to the 12th CPC Central Committee: "We must exert ourselves to make party building the strong nucleus guiding socialist modernizations." The key to opening up a new prospect in the construction of the socialist modernizations lies in making a breakthrough in party building. The basic measure for making a breakthrough in party building

is to pay close attention to handling well consolidation of party organizations and the party work style in an all-round way. Party consolidation, in rural areas or cities or towns, must be carried out simultaneously with reorganization of organizations, enterprises and service organs, so that party consolidation leads [social] reorganization, and so that rectification of party work style leads rectification of popular work styles, and thereby realize the simultaneous basic improvements in the party work style, in the general mood of society, and in the financial and economic situation.

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## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### GANSU POLICY TOWARD INTELLECTUALS EXPLAINED IN DETAIL

Lanzhou GANSU RIBAO in Chinese 12 Nov 82 p 2

[Article by Guo Hongchao [6753 3163 6389]: "Implement the Party's Policy Toward the Intellectuals in an All-Round Way; Bring the Important Role of the Intellectuals in the Four Modernizations Drive to a Full Play--A Report Given at the Province-Wide Work Conference Concerning the Intellectuals"]

[Text] Comrades! The Provincial Party Committee and the Provincial Government decided to convene this Province-Wide Work Conference Concerning Intellectuals. Participants at the present conference are the chief secretaries and heads of the organizational departments in the party committees of the various prefectures, municipalities and autonomous regions, the responsible comrades in the various provincial departments, commissions, offices, bureaus, as well as in the institutions of higher education, factories, mines, enterprises and industrial units and scientific units, numbering altogether 178 persons. Also invited to participate are 20 representatives of high and medium-ranking intellectuals. This is the first meeting convened by our province since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee to study the problems involved in our work concerning the intellectuals.

In his report to the 12th National Party Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang [5170 5069 6721] pointed out: "As we are launching a new phase of the socialist modernization drive, we must give special attention to bring the role of the intellectuals into full play." The task of our present conference is a more penetrating study of the documents from the 12th National Party Congress and of the party's policy toward the intellectuals, to enhance our awareness of the position and role of the intellectuals in the new historical period, to sum up and exchange views on the conditions and experiences throughout the province in work concerning the intellectuals done since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, to analyse and study the new situation and new tasks we are now facing in the province-wide work concerning the intellectuals, to discuss how we can implement one step further the party's policy toward the intellectuals, to initiate questions on the new situation in the province-wide work concerning the intellectuals and to fully mobilize the socialist enthusiasm of the large number of intellectuals so as to speed up the process of the four modernizations in our province.

1. Review of the Work Concerning the Intellectuals Carried Out in Our Province Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party organizations at all levels throughout the province have conducted vigorous propaganda, conscientiously implemented the political line, principles and policies of the Third Plenary Session, created order out of chaos, continuously worked to eliminate the erroneous "leftist" influences and have done a large amount of work in implementing the party's policy toward the intellectuals, achieving very great successes. This is apparent mainly in the following aspects:

(1) Raising the Position of the Broad Masses of Intellectuals

Because of the parochialism and conservatism of the small production system, which was a legacy of feudalism that had prevailed in our country for so long, and also due to the "leftist" ideological influences that had lasted for such a long period of time, our party had at one time committed increasingly serious "leftist" deviations in dealing with the intellectuals. During the "cultural revolution," Lin Biao and the "gang of four" carried the mistaken "leftist" trend to extremes. They confused right and wrong, took enemies for comrades and comrades for enemies, slandered the intellectuals as "stinking ninth class," made the targets of dictatorship, made them out to be the base for a restoration of the old order and wantonly subjected them to political and personal persecution. Fabricated charges of all kinds were levelled against a large number of the intellectuals. They were confined in "cowsheds" and subjected to criticism and denunciations at public meetings. Many were forcibly sent into the countryside for reform by labor, had to leave their own places of work and were prevented from bringing their knowledge and special skills into full play. All this seriously wrecked and ruined the whole contingent of our intellectuals. According to incomplete statistics, over 3,400 cases of unjust, false and wrong charges were brought against intellectuals in the course of the "cultural revolution" in our province. Having been subjected to discrimination and having had to suffer "thought reform," the large number of our intellectuals were seriously injured spiritually and their initiative was stifled. This was not only a misfortune for the intellectuals themselves but also an immense loss for the undertakings of the party and the people.

After smashing the "gang of four," especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the Party Central Committee created order out of chaos, repudiated the "double estimation" that was forced upon the intellectuals and reassessed them as part of the working class and as an important and dependable support for the socialist modernization drive, recognizing their important position and role in the new period and defining the party's policy toward the intellectuals in the new period. From now on the history of inversion of truth and falsehood in the question of the intellectuals is over, and the position of the broad masses of our intellectuals has undergone a radical change. For the last few years we were continuously engaged in eliminating the influences of the

"leftist" ideology. We first of all conscientiously implemented the party's policy toward the intellectuals in the political field, resolutely rehabilitated those who had been unjustly, falsely and wrongly accused, repudiated all slanderous and untruthful statements and restored their reputation and returned them to their work. Throughout the province over 4,700 cases of unjust, false and wrong sentencing were reexamined and had decisions reversed, among them 507 cases concerned high-ranking intellectuals and 2,114 cases concerned medium-ranking intellectuals. The designation as rightist elements was completely rectified in the case of 1,630 intellectuals. The policy was also applied to returned overseas Chinese intellectuals and their family members who had been wrongly criticized, punished or debarred from employment because of overseas connections or other such reasons, and they were afforded political trust and solicitude. According to relevant regulations, the records of intellectuals were set straight and such problems as work, remuneration, the implication of children and other relatives, and compensation for bereaved families were given attention. At the same time questions of intellectuals joining the party, getting job or rank promotions and allowing their children to enlist in the army, go on to higher schools or be employed were dealt with on the principle of full equality without discrimination. Throughout the whole province, 3,804 intellectuals have joined the party. The ratio of intellectuals among newly joining party members has gone up from the pre-1977 figure of 11.5 percent to 24.4 percent in 1981. All this work has had the effect of gradually eliminating the serious consequences of the past "leftist" mistakes, and the party's policy toward the intellectuals begins to sink in in the minds of the people, where the fine practice of respecting and cherishing the intellectuals is being established. The broad masses of the intellectuals have been freed from the shackles of "leftist" ideology and relieved of their spiritual burdens. Their revolutionary fervor has been rekindled, and furthermore, their trust in the party leadership and in the cause of socialism has been reaffirmed. The relationship between the party and the intellectuals has been rendered closer and the solidarity of the three basic social forces, the workers, peasants and intellectuals, has been further strengthened.

(2) Work Concerning the Intellectuals Is Receiving Support

Since the Third Plenary Session, the party organizations at all levels have continuously adopted measures to strengthen leadership in the work concerning the intellectuals, based on the needs of the new times and new tasks. They have fostered the reorganization and buildup of our contingent of intellectuals, worked for the restitution and development of the contingent of intellectuals in our province and worked for its return once more to a path of healthy growth.

We have organized a force which, after investigations and sounding out the real facts, successively readjusted the work in over 8,000 cases of intellectuals whose jobs were not suited to their specialities and who were unsuitably employed, and thus solved the problem of having people employed on jobs for which they were not trained or on which their special skills were not used.

We selected over 1,300 intellectual cadres of ability as well as integrity, who were in the prime of their years, have had practical experiences and had shown organizational and leadership abilities, to join the leadership teams from the county level up, in order to provide better conditions for them to fully play their role, and as an initial step to change the structure of the leadership teams at the various levels.

All over the province we launched work to appraise and determine the designations of specialists and technical staff and to grant promotions, and in over 14,500 cases titles were determined for personnel in the natural and the social sciences. Many units have also instituted a system of technical responsibilities and established dossiers for scientific and technical personnel as an initial basis for their better support, improvement and correct employment.

Strengthening the political instruction and professional training of intellectuals. In various forms and ways we have successfully instructed and trained over 33,000 persons. We have first sent over 420 persons abroad for studies and investigations, reinstituted or newly set up various scholarly associations and scientific research institutes, launched activities for the exchange of scholarly information and thus raised the political quality and the technical specialization of the intellectuals.

A newly emerging force supplements our contingent of intellectuals. In the wake of improved education, over 20,000 graduates from universities and polytechnic schools have started work during the last 2 years, and over 2,100 independent students, who had attained proper qualifications, were given professional technical designations. At the same time a number of specialized technical personnel, who had been left idle in society, were called back and employed. The last 5 years have seen an increase of our province's contingent of intellectuals by over 36,800 persons, which is a speedier increase than before the "cultural revolution."

The party committees at all levels and the government set about solving real difficulties experienced by the intellectuals in their work or livelihood. Throughout the province living quarters were arranged for over 11,000 intellectuals, solution was provided in over 4,100 cases of hardship of middle-aged or young key professionals having to live separated from their spouses and also in the case of 529 aged intellectuals without children to care for them. Over 171 specialists were provided with assistance, and work was assigned to over 7,980 children of intellectuals. Some units also gave their intellectuals certain privileges and considerations in their livelihood. Improvements of varying degrees have been effected in the work, study and livelihood conditions of the broad masses of intellectuals.

As we strengthened our work concerning the intellectuals, the contingent of our intellectuals was raised in quality and expanded. At present there are over 150,000 intellectual cadres throughout our province of a polytechnic school or higher educational level and over 120,000 specialized technical cadres, amounting to 38 percent of the total number of cadres and

corresponding to 28 times the more than the 4,400 in the early post-liberation period. Among these there are over 1,000 high-ranking intellectuals, such as professors, research fellows, high ranking engineers and senior medical officers; over 15,000 medium-rank key professionals, such as lecturers, engineers, agronomists, physicians-in-charge and accountants; over 5,000 special personnel, such as journalists and publishers, translators, cultural workers, artists and lawyers; over 3,600 scientific and technical cadres of the minority peoples. Some of these persons are specialists and scholars of a certain national and international reputation, or are excellent young and promising persons of great scientific and technical abilities. The whole province has already formed an initial body of an intellectual contingent, which constitutes a valuable asset for the people of Gansu Province and for the four modernizations drive.

### (3) The Important Role to be Played by the Intellectuals in the Four Modernizations

We believe implementation of the party's line, principles and policies since the Third Plenary Session aroused the enthusiasm of the broad masses of our intellectuals. The large number of workers in ideological theory courageously broke the fetters of the "two whomevers" and marched in the forefront of the movement for the emancipation of the mind. The large number of workers in ideological and economic theory, in collaboration with the actual workers, possessed of a liberated mind and with the courage of exploration, put forward many useful views and suggestions concerning problems of the socialist modernization drive. On the various fronts of industrial and agricultural production and scientific research, of culture and education, of public health and sports, of journalism and publication, the masses of our intellectuals have arduously struggled and exerted themselves in tackling key problems and have gained gratifying results, making new contributions toward the building of our socialist spiritual and material civilizations. According to statistics, the workers in science and technology throughout this province have completed over 1,070 items of scientific research of comparatively major importance. Among these, over 200 items won awards at the National Science Congress and over 760 items received awards from central government departments and relevant departments of the province. New discoveries and advances were made in scientific research by many of our workers in science and education, such as by Comrades Zhou Wangyue [0719 2598 1471], and Shi Yafent [2457 7161 7364] of the Lanzhou Branch of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, by Comrades Huang Wenkui [7806 2429 7608], Duan Yishi [3008 0001 1102], and Liu Youcheng [0491 2589 2052] of the Lanzhou University, Comrades Ren Jizhou [0117 4949 0719], Chen Beiheng [7115 0554 0077] and Zhang Songyin [1728 2646 5593] of the Gansu Agricultural University, Comrade Wei Qingtong [7614 1989 0681] of the Gansu Engineering University, Comrade Wang Huanxin [3769 3562 2450] of the Provincial Veterinary Station, and Comrade Wang Suxiang [3769 4790 7449] of the Provincial Grassland Research Team. Some of their scientific achievements are of an advanced international level, some are filling gaps in our country and province and have an important impact on promoting

developments in such areas as industry, agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, public health, national defense, science and technology. For instance, the workers in agronomy in our province were successful after many years of efforts in breeding new varieties of wheat, namely the "gan mai," "gan chun" and "long chun" varieties, and also new varieties of corn, potatoes, sesame and other crops. All resulted in greatly increased crop yield and were welcomed everywhere. The workers in animal husbandry in our province were successful in breeding a Gansu variety of mountain goat with fine wool, which is of great economic value. The broad masses of our scientific and technical personnel, in collaboration with the masses of staff and workers, were also successful in developing over 400 new items in the areas of light industry, machinery, petrochemicals, metallurgy, electronics, communications, medicine and in the pharmaceutical industry. They produced articles of a value of over 293 million yuan, amounting to 4.2 percent of the total provincial output value for 1981. A large array of facts proves the truth of Marx's scientific conclusion that the development of social productive forces "originates, in the last analysis, from the social character of work in its actual effect, originates from the internal division of labor in the society and originates from intellectual work, especially the development of the natural sciences." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 25, p 97) Science and technology are indeed productive forces, this is beyond doubt.

The practical experiences of the last 3 years illustrate that the only reason why the intellectuals can enjoy today's conditions and that science and technology returned to a condition of upsurge and prosperity, is entirely the implementation of the political line, principles and policies of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. We have every reason to believe that so long as we unswervingly act in the spirit of the 12th National Party Congress and carry out the party's line, principles and policies since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, as these have been fully affirmed, replenished and developed at the 12th National Party Congress, and as long as we even more vigorously mobilize and give free rein to the initiative, creativeness and wisdom of the intellectuals, they, in collaboration with the broad masses of workers and peasants, are bound to produce new contributions for our country's modernization drive.

In the spirit of the communications from the Central Committee, we have started this year, beginning with the mid-week of March, a comprehensive investigation of the province-wide work concerning the intellectuals. This investigation was on a larger scale than in many years past, it was also conducted over a fairly long period and was very thorough and wide-ranging. Having prepared themselves by a conscientious study of the documents from the Central Committee and raised their ideological awareness, the party committees at all levels transferred over 600 persons from all over the province, according to the concrete dispositions of the provincial party committee, and, with the leading comrades of the party committees at the various levels taking command, went down to the grassroots units for these investigations, also concentrated on solving a group of problems. According

to incomplete statistics, in the course of their investigations they reexamined the political verdicts for over 200 intellectuals, cleared the files of over 5,000 persons, provided assistants for 36 specialists, solved living quarter difficulties for over 400 families, also adjusted the work for certain intellectuals, determined professional technical designations, improved working and living conditions, solved problems of spouses having to live separately, employment problems for their children, etc. The propaganda and education system of the province settled 86 concrete problems of various kinds. The party committee at the Lanzhou Teachers Training College was exerting itself to do the best they could for the intellectuals, and since the beginning of this year, in implementation of our policies, settled 16 problems regarding teaching materials, livelihood and welfare, supply services, etc. All this work was welcomed by the teachers, staff and workers. These investigations resulted not only in the consolidation and development of our work concerning the intellectuals as conducted since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, but also summed up and extended the experiences of units, as for instance, the Lanzhou Biological Products Research Institute, in doing good work for the intellectuals. This gave great impetus province-wide for work concerning the intellectuals, but we must not overestimate the results. In many units the checking was not done sufficiently in depth and in detail and the number of problems solved was insufficient. There were even units that merely went through the motions and could not solve the problems that had to be, and could have been, solved. These units must make up in missed studies. The present investigations must therefore not be concluded at this point, but must be continued in a thorough way so down-to-earth solutions will be found for all existing problems.

The major problems that remain in our work concerning the intellectuals are: The "leftist" ideological influences and habitual prejudices are still very serious, while the important position and role of the intellectuals in the new period is not sufficiently realized. To this day, leading cadres in some places and departments are still not yet regarding the intellectual as "one of us:" they don't trust them, don't place dependence on them, and the discriminations against them are still quite serious. This is now a major ideological obstacle to the implementation of our policy toward the intellectuals and to effective work in connection with the intellectuals. When it comes to actual work, many places and units have not yet properly dealt with some problems left over from the redressing of miscarriages of justice. In some cases the reexaminations reached improper conclusions and in some cases the reexaminations reached improper conclusions and in some cases "tails" of unfinished action were left behind. Some of the data on file were not thoroughly cleaned out, and false data were still left in the files. Some rehabilitation measures, such as returning confiscated property, return of private houses, back-pay of salaries, implication of children and other relatives, have not yet been properly dealt with. Certain places and units did not conscientiously follow the principle of no discriminations against intellectuals in matters of joining the party, promotions, jobs for children, etc. Some places and units paid no attention to giving full play to the special skills or knowledge of the intellectuals, employed them

inappropriately and stifled and wasted real talent. Some units did not respect the authority of office of specialized personnel and were paying no heed to their opinions. In some instances specialists held too many concurrent posts, attended too many social activities, were left without assistants, scattered their energies, were too heavily burdened and could not devote themselves with undivided attention to their scientific research. Some places and units did not, for a long time, attend to the actual difficulties the intellectuals experienced in their work, studies, livelihood, etc. In some research units, cultural, educational and public health units laboratories are overcrowded, instruments and equipment are outdated and library material is inadequate. Especially conspicuous are the deficiencies in the working and living conditions of the middle-aged intellectuals. The administrative work that deals with the intellectuals is also far from meeting the requirements of the four modernizations and is detrimental to an effective recruiting and utilization of gifted people. All these problems deserve our earnest attention. Owing to the existence of the above-mentioned problems, and since prompt and effective measures were not taken to solve these problems, aggravated by the weakness of our ideological work, a number of our technical personnel, especially certain high-ranking intellectuals and middle-aged key personnel, have slipped away and left our province. There is also a section of intellectuals who do not feel content with their work in Gansu. The role and potential of our contingent of intellectuals is now not being fully activated.

## 2. Comprehensive Implementation of Our Policy Toward the Intellectuals; Consolidate and Build Up the Contingent of Intellectuals

The territory of our province of Gansu is very extensive, its natural and energy resources are abundant and it has broad prospects for the development of industrial and agricultural production as well as for many other kinds of enterprises. In over 30 years of construction, our province has already initially shaped an industrial foundation of which nonferrous metal metallurgy, petrochemical industry, machining, electric power industry and wool spinning are the main components. The potential is great and the outlook excellent for the opening up and development of Gansu. However, our province is remotely situated, somewhat backward in science and culture, short of qualified people, has a low level of industrial technology and business management and its conditions for agricultural production are comparatively poor. If we are to take full advantage of the superior natural resources in opening up the developing Gansu, to realize the task of "quadrupling" production, we must pay greatest attention to the development of scientific and technological undertakings. For this purpose we must not only consolidate our present scientific and technical strength and bring this strength into full play, but also firmly take in hand the buildup of a "red and expert" contingent of intellectuals. This contingent must first of all firmly uphold the four basic principles, support the leadership of the party, staunchly follow the socialist direction, work hard to bring about ideological revolutionization, consciously resist corrosion by bourgeois ideologies and trends of liberalization, establish a mentality of serving the people wholeheartedly and display the revolutionary spirit of

bravely suffering hardships and fearlessness in the face of difficulties. These are the most fundamental concerns in building up our contingent of intellectuals. This contingent must furthermore have a specialized structure and a level of proficiency that fit the special conditions of Gansu's industry and agriculture. This is of special significance, as far as our province is concerned.

In order to effectively consolidate and build up a contingent of intellectuals in our province, we must act in the spirit of the 12th National Party Congress and adhere to the political principles of the Central Committee, namely in political respects treat them equally without discrimination, give them a free hand in their work and show solicitude and care for their livelihood. Our starting point must be the given realities of our province, and for the present as well as for the future we must carry out effectively the following six aspects of work:

(1) Handle Well From Start to Finish the Residual Problems in Connection With the Redressing of Miscarriages of Justice

This is an important task, politically, in carrying out our policy toward the intellectuals. The larger part of such cases of unjust, false and wrong convictions has already been redressed, but there are still some residual problems and these problems are furthermore particularly difficult. We must determine to overcome the "that's good enough" mentality and not relax into a slack mood. We must conscientiously probe into these residual problems, make a list of them, enjoin the relevant leading comrades to take on concrete responsibilities and provide solutions within specified times. In the case of long-outstanding difficult problems, where for a long time help has been requested from higher authority and which have dragged on without a decision forthcoming, a method of handling such cases in joint action may be adopted, or the matter must be taken up directly by the competent department of the higher authority and a decision arrived at after consultation with the relevant unit. Leading cadres or personnel in charge of cases who persist in a factionalist attitude or are swayed by personal feelings and intentionally obstruct implementation of policy must be promptly subjected to disciplinary measures and unflinchingly removed. If it is found out that cases that should have been settled are still delayed, the responsibility of the department in charge or of the leading cadre will be closely investigated.

(2) Emphasis on an Effective and Firm Implementation of Our Policy Toward the Middle-Aged Intellectuals

The middle-aged intellectuals account for over 60 percent of all the intellectuals in our province. They are the backbone element and key personnel in the drive for the four modernizations. Improving their working conditions must be regarded as one of the items of fundamental construction, even as the foundation of fundamental construction. This is an important strategic decision of the Party Central Committee. We are determined to fully acknowledge the far-reaching significance of this important strategic decision and have decided to find a solution for the actual difficulties experienced by the middle-aged intellectuals. We shall keep them in mind as the focal point in the selection of cadres, in the allocation and distributions of materials and in promotions, in our

solicitude and care, in our fostering and raising the level of proficiencies, so as to gradually effect a change in their poor working conditions, heavy family responsibilities and low level of livelihood, and to ensure that they can devote all their energies to their work, have ease of mind and bring their role as key supportive personnel into full play.

(3) Apply the Principle of Favorable Treatment in Livelihood Conditions

The mental work performed by the intellectuals is arduous and complex. It requires a very high scientific and educational level and more than common creativeness and exploratory initiative. The fruits of their work are, relatively speaking, of an even greater impact on furthering the development of science and technology, on promoting the national economy and on creating greater material and spiritual wealth. It is therefore in accord with the economic laws of socialism and with the principle of distribution according to work, also in accord with the long-term interests of the state and the masses, to grant the intellectuals, who are engaged in mental work, somewhat higher salaries and somewhat better treatment in their livelihood conditions. If this were not done, our science and technology and our productive forces could not move on and up, and it would hardly be possible to speedily improve the livelihood of the broad masses. Out of these considerations, the provincial party committee and the provincial government decided, under the present rather strained financial conditions in our province, to allot a certain amount of money to pay first of all a section of high and medium-ranking intellectuals and intellectual cadres working in the pastoral areas appropriate professional, livelihood and health care allowances, and also decided to appropriately relax the conditions for a transfer of the household registry of rural family members of intellectual cadres to urban registries and give preferential treatment and care in the allotment of living quarters. They also adopted measures of encouragement and rotation to encourage intellectual cadres to proceed to the frontline of agricultural and animal husbandry production. All these regulations are absolutely necessary to bring the role of the intellectuals into full play and stabilize the contingent of intellectuals in our province. These measures have been formulated on the basis of the given realities of our province and follow the principles of starting out with encouragement, stressing the focal points, making allowances for the remoteness of the area and acting within our capabilities. We must do a good job in propaganda, explanations and in effective implementation. Each area and area unit must furthermore do whatever is in their power to give the intellectuals further care and provide them with better working, study and livelihood facilities. At the same time we must also emphasize that great efforts be made to foster the spirit of self-reliance and arduous struggle. Our country is still rather poor and the difficulties of financial and material weakness are even greater in our province. The masses of our intellectuals should have the cardinal principles in mind and take the overall situation into account, show understanding for the difficulties of the country, be brave in suffering hardships, work contently under hard conditions and dedicate their skills and abilities to the modernization drive of Gansu Province. Even if future conditions will improve, the spirit of arduous struggle must not be lost, and there must be no relenting in the revolutionary quality of fearlessness in the face of difficulties and courage that will triumph over difficulties.

(4) Unhesitatingly Select Specialized Technical Cadres and Give Them a Free Hand in Their Work

In order to speedily achieve revolutionaization of the leadership teams and employment in them of younger and more knowledgable people with better specialized training, we must, in the course of establishing collaboration between new and old cadres and carrying out replacements, pay the greatest attention to the selection of cadres from the intellectuals and from various kinds of specialized technical personnel. This is a pressing need of the four modernizations. It also affects the important question whether we shall be able to accomplish the great strategic goal set at the 12th National Party Congress. The 12th National Party Congress already set an example for us for collaboration of old and new cadres and for replacements. Delegates from the education, sciences, theoretical studies, engineering and technology, literature and art, public health and sports professions accounted for 17 percent of all delegates at the 12th National Party Congress. This is without precedent in all previous party congresses and abundantly demonstrates the party's high degree of trust in the intellectuals and its ardent expectations from them. It also explains the great responsibility resting on the intellectuals during the new historical period. We must therefore give particular attention to select cadres from among the intellectuals and allow the specialized technical personnel of high qualifications a free hand in their work. In these questions the leading cadres at all levels must resolutely free themselves of old ideas, broaden their vision, constantly give attention to the correction of all kinds of mistaken mentalities, take the overall situation of the drive for the four modernizations as their starting point, adopt a proletarian strategic foresight and sense of urgency in the search for talented people, go out and actively locate talented people and select them. As to intellectual cadres who have already been selected into leadership positions, we must give them a free hand in their work and assign them their own jobs, authority and responsibilities. The old cadres should enthusiastically assist them and foster them, make strict demands on them, care and cherish them, support them in whatever work they may courageously undertake, build a bridge and pave the road for their healthy progress and smooth take-over of duties.

To bring the special skills and knowledge of the masses of specialized technical cadres into full play and get the most out of their employment, the key is placing them in the most appropriate positions, make use of their strong points and avoid using them where they are weak. The party committees, party organizations and personnel departments at all levels must be determined to prove into the employment conditions of specialized technical cadres and resolutely take measures to rectify as quickly as possible situations of inappropriate employment or employment of men on jobs for which they weren't trained. Cases where adjustments are difficult to make in the original area or in the original unit must be reported to the competent higher authority, and if necessary centralized adjustments must be carried out.

We must give serious attention to the strengthening of our administrative work concerning our science and technology contingents. In carrying out

our policy toward the intellectuals, the first item of priority is to decide on the question of administrative control of the employment of the science and technology contingent. All the various scientific research institutions and institutes of higher learning are intent on taking control, nor is there any powerful organization with authority that cannot carry it out. We must firmly grasp and study this problem. The basic task of the administrative control of the cadres is to discover talented persons and to employ them in a reasonable way. For persons of true ability, who are capable of opening up new prospects, men who can make genuine contributions in their work, exceptions can be made in granting them higher wages or ranks. We must not only concern ourselves with the material benefits of the intellectuals, more important, we must care for the intellectuals politically. We must give constant attention to effective ideological political work among the intellectuals. We must ask them to be good in their work, play the role they are supposed to play and not haggle over salaries and treatment. However, from an organizational view, we must give consideration to the overall situation and whatever allowances have to be made must be made. The objective that we pursue is still to do a better job at tapping the potential of talented people and bring the capabilities of the intellectuals fully into play.

(5) Accelerate the Fostering of Talented Persons, Raise the Quality and Expand the Numbers of our Contingent of Intellectuals

At present neither the numbers nor the quality of the contingent of intellectuals in our province can meet the needs of our drive for the four modernizations. The 10 years of turmoil have created problems that are still very serious. Regarding qualified men the situation is as when the new crop is still in the blade and the old all consumed and gone. The structure of specialized professions is unreasonable and the ratio between old, middle-aged and young is out of balance. To change this situation, we must first of all do an effective job at training and improving the present contingent. We must open up opportunities for studying, greatly promote all kinds and patterns of training classes in rotation, short-term training courses, research courses and supplementary classes. We must institute good vocational cadre schools, establish training centers for various trades and professions and launch extensive activities for scholarly exchanges and for the exchange of science and technology information. We must organize in a planned way observation and study trips outside this province and to foreign countries and provide our specialists with assistance. In many ways and by various methods we must help our present science and technology personnel update their knowledge, raise the level of their professional skills and through an improved system of testing, promptly determine and raise their professional technical designations. Simultaneously, from a long-term point of view, we must realistically make education and science strategic focal points of economic development. Making education and science strategic focal points is an important measure of foresight and sagacity put forward in view of the historical experiences in our economic construction as summed up at the 12th National Party Congress and also using the successful examples of other countries as reference. The key to the accomplishment of the four modernizations lies in science and technology and education as its foundation. We must therefore gradually increase our

investment in increasing knowledge, greatly promote elementary education, strengthen middle, vocational and higher education and in these developments include cadre education, education of staff, workers and peasants and education at all levels in city and countryside, including the elimination of illiteracy. We must foster specialized talented persons of all kinds and constantly and substantially expand the contingent of intellectuals in our province. In the course of building up our contingent of intellectuals, we must give special attention to build up in the minority areas a contingent that consists of minority people of the area in question, as we must carry on the policy of giving them favorable treatment regarding the training of cadres, enrollment of students, selection of cadres, ethnic education, etc. We must accelerate the pace of training science and technology cadres of the minority peoples and promote the economic and cultural development in the minority regions. On all fronts attention must be given to train female intellectuals and female cadres.

(6) Conscientiously Implement Our Policy Toward Returned Overseas Chinese, Their Relatives and Taiwanese Intellectuals

We must conduct thorough propaganda on the party's policies on overseas Chinese affairs and eliminate such phenomena inside the party and in our society as not trusting them, showing no solicitude to them and even discriminating against them. We must conscientiously and responsibly carry out restitutions in accordance with government policies. We must erase from their files such data as "overseas connection," to be "internally controlled," "limitations in employment," etc. Equal treatment without discrimination must be genuinely applied as to joining the party, promotions, employment, enrolment of their children in schools, enlisting in the army, taking up professions and other such matters, and they should receive favorable consideration in solving such of their problems as rural household registry for relatives, separation of spouses, allocation of living quarters and other such problems concerning their livelihood.

3. Genuinely Strengthen the Leadership of the Party in the Work Concerning the Intellectuals

In his report at the 12th National Party Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang [5170 5069 6721] pointed out that we must "strengthen the work of the party among workers, peasants and intellectuals." The Central Committee had also once pointed out that the state of mobilization of enthusiasm in the broad masses of intellectuals, of bringing their skills and capabilities into full play and obtaining results, must be regarded as an important indicator to measure the quality of leadership work done in a certain area or unit. We are determined to study again and again the documents from the 12th National Party Congress and the party's line, principles and policies since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee to gain a thorough understanding of the whole series of important Central Committee directives on work concerning the intellectuals, to raise our ideological awareness and to adopt effective measures for a genuine strengthening of leadership in work concerning the intellectuals.

(1) We Must Truly Place Work Concerning the Intellectuals Into an Important Position Within the Work of the Party Committees

Strengthening the work concerning the intellectuals, placing work concerning the intellectuals into an important position on the agenda of the party committees, is an important feature of party committee work in the new

period and under the new conditions. If we are, to this day, not yet able to recognize the problem in this manner and solve the problem, and allow our ideology to lag behind the objective developments, we will in future commit errors of extreme dimensions. As we usher in, on an extensive scope, a new phase of the socialist modernization drive, we must devote much attention to bringing into full play the role of the masses of more educated, technically knowledgeable, managerially capable intellectuals among our working class, greatly arouse their socialist enthusiasm and scientifically organize them. Without doing good work in connection with the intellectuals and without reliance on scientific and technological progress, we cannot accomplish the task of "quadrupling" industrial and agricultural output by the end of the century and would find it impossible to realize the four modernizations. In the course of studying the documents from the 12th National Party Congress and of implementing the spirit of the 12th National Party Congress, the party committees at all levels must set an example in eliminating "leftist" ideological influences in questions of the intellectuals. They must rectify conceptions regarding the position and functions of the intellectuals, shatter the old ideas and old conventions that have grown up over the years and must overcome old customs and prejudices. They must firmly and correctly carry out the political line, principles and policies of the Party Central Committee, must constantly analyse the conditions of our contingent of intellectuals, listen to opinions and demands by the masses of our intellectuals, check how all subordinate units implement the policies toward the intellectuals, study how to solve the problems that the intellectuals experience in their work and speedily change any ideological or work-related conditions that are inappropriate. The leading cadres at all levels must by their own concrete actions and work achievements convince and influence those comrades who have a contempt for knowledge and prejudices against the intellectuals. They must guide those comrades to shift in words and deeds to the path of party policies and as a consequence have them perform well their work concerning the intellectuals and continuously reap good results from it.

(2) We Must Do a Good Job of Propagandistic Education of the Cadres and Masses Regarding the Party's Policy toward the Intellectuals

In the party's effective leadership in all the various aspects of work, including work concerning the intellectuals, one important item is conveying to the broad masses of cadres and to the people a deep understanding and grasp of the party's policies. Due to the fetters of "leftist" ideologies and small-scale production mentality, the erroneous way of looking down on science, education and culture and of discriminating against the intellectuals was rampant for quite a long time. In order to implement the party's policy toward the intellectuals, it is therefore necessary to carry out a thorough and comprehensive propagandistic education, directed toward the cadres and the masses, on the policy toward the intellectuals, a policy fully affirmed at the 12th National Party Congress and implemented since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Establishing full awareness of the position and functions of the intellectuals in the four modernizations among the broad masses of cadres and the people, and having them understand that the 12th National Party Congress made science and technology strategic focal points in economic construction, is a correct

policy worked out according to our country's national conditions, strategic goals and its actual proportional relations; it is an objective demand of the laws of socialist economic development. We must particularly guide the broad masses of cadres and the people in a full understanding of the important strategic role of science, technology, culture and education in carrying out socialist construction in economically and culturally so backward an area as our province. We must genuinely raise the level of political consciousness with regard to the implementation of the party's policy toward the intellectuals and have the entire society acquire the excellent custom of respecting, cherishing, showing concern for and caring for the intellectuals. This is the only way in which our efforts to strengthen the leadership of the party in the work concerning the intellectuals will have a solid ideological foundation and will be founded on the masses, and it will be the only way that we can ensure the all-round implementation of the party's policy toward the intellectuals.

### (3) We Must Greatly Strengthen and Improve the Ideological Political Work Concerning the Intellectuals

In the socialist society every person is in need of remolding. Although the masses of our intellectuals are a part of the working class, they too, while remolding the objective world, must consciously remold their own subjective world, so as to become workers with high ideals, a sense of morality, culture and a sense of discipline, to become "red and expert" intellectuals. We must encourage and guide the broad masses of intellectuals to undertake a conscientious study of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and of the line, principles and policies of the party, guide them to establish the lofty ideals and firm conviction of communism, to become deeply aware of the historical mission they themselves are shouldering, to link up work at their own posts with the long-range goal of communism, to be perfectly impartial and unselfish, to strive for neither fame nor personal gain to work with a communist spirit and to serve the people wholeheartedly. We must conduct education in the four basic principles, educate them to persist in the socialist direction, to acquire the strength to withstand the corroding influences of bourgeois ideologies and the bourgeois way of life and to establish an excellent ideological style and professional ethics. We must conduct education in the excellent tradition of arduous struggle and have them accept hard conditions of work as honorable. They should feel ardent love for Gansu, strike roots in Gansu and have the aspiration to build up Gansu, to go into the areas of hardship, to go into the places where they are most needed by the party and the people and to devote their energies to the four modernizations drive. When carrying out this ideological political work, we must improve patterns and methods in line with the special characteristics of the intellectuals and pursue this work in depth and in detail. Ideological political work must start out from considerations of concern and care. It must make strict demands, but also render cordial assistance. It must insist on persuasive education, must give positive guidance and avoid oversimplifications and coarseness. The leading cadres must regularly go among the intellectuals to understand their ways of thinking, their working and study conditions, to listen to their opinions, to make friends with intellectuals and become intimate with them. We must commend the intellectuals for their achievements, and in case of any incorrect

views and ideas, we must patiently render helpful education and urge them to correct such views and ideas. Ideological political work that is conscientiously and effectively carried out is capable of not only arousing the enthusiasm of the intellectuals to devote themselves to the four modernizations, but also one step further of leading to closer relations between the party and the intellectuals, and of consolidating and strengthening the fighting solidarity of the three basic social forces, the workers, peasants and intellectuals, in the struggle for the common goal. We believe the broad masses of intellectuals will certainly join our party as with one heart and one mind in the arduous struggle for the prosperity and development of our nation and for an improvement in the backward conditions of Gansu, and will furthermore continue to make new advances on the road of "redness and expertness."

(4) Earnestly Change the style of Work of the Leadership, Effectively Solve Actual Problems in Our Work Concerning the Intellectuals

A leading comrade of the Central Committee once pointed out that there is nothing that cannot be carried through in implementing our policy toward the intellectuals, and that there are also no difficulties that cannot be overcome. For instance, in such problems as the incomplete redressing cases of miscarriage of justice, the irrational job assignments, the separation of spouses, the schooling and employment of their children or in the question of living quarters, if only each single city, trade or profession, one by one, would institute investigations and inspections, exercise supervision and spur on action, conditions would be found to enable the solution of these problems or discover the potentialities that could be exploited. We must go all out to link up with the masses, engage in investigations and study, get hold of each problem and find a way to solve it. We must not start a back and forth movement of reports and requests for instructions. Everyone should work on his own initiative, seek truth from facts, work harder along the line of the party's policies and the masses will be happy, the intellectuals will be happy, the cadres will be happy and the Central Committee will be happy. What is there against it? Even though there are now still many problems in our work concerning the intellectuals in our province, if we only make up our minds in unison, each of us personally study and take an interest, most of the problems can probably be solved at the original units where they occur. In the handling of these problems we must criticize and overcome the bureaucratic attitude of turning a blind eye to the problems and dragging on without coming to a decision. We must advocate a serious and sincere attitude and a thorough and solid style of work, so that questions will be actively pursued, studied and solved on everyone's own initiative. Whatever lies within the scope of finding a solution within one's own system or unit, must be solved by the system or unit in question on its own initiative, and problems must not be shifted to higher authority. Whatever can be solved now, must be solved immediately and must not be put off or allowed to drag on. Whatever cannot be solved by one unit alone, must be solved by joint consultation of several departments or units. If at a certain time the solution of a problem is impossible, detailed explanations must be prepared so as to gain the understanding of the intellectuals. This is the only way to have the broad masses of

intellectuals show understanding for the present difficulties of the party and the state and furthermore also have them exert all their energies toward overcoming the difficulties.

(5) Conscientiously Study and Improve the Organizational System and the Methods of Administration

The actual system that exists at present which administers the way units and departments themselves build up their qualified personnel is a serious obstacle to a reasonable interflow of qualified personnel and to a more reasonable structuring the contingent of intellectuals. While they are short in some places, other places hoard them, and the waste of talented people is serious. To counter this situation, we could, under conditions of centralized distribution, centralized administrative control, centralized planning throughout the country and unchanging supplies of such people, adopt measures of negotiating loans for fixed periods, mutual assistance for definite terms, organize joint attacks on certain problems, etc., to promote a reasonable interchange of qualified personnel. The science and technology departments at all levels must pay attention to setting up scientific research tasks, determining research plans and organizing the completion of their research tasks. Some items may be entrusted to universities to carry out and some technical personnel may fittingly be transferred to participate in the work, so that qualified people continually come to the fore. This is an extremely important work. The province, prefectures, counties as well as all systems, trades, professions and units must actively study the question of tapping our resources of talented people. The party organizations and personnel department in particular must make the reasonable interflow and employment of available qualified persons one of their important tasks, seriously assume responsibility for this task and as soon as possible show effective results. The scientific research organizations at all levels as well as scholarly associations should strengthen their close relations with the intellectuals and regularly launch scholarly discussions of various kinds and activities for the exchange of information on research results. All democratic parties and mass organizations, such as labor unions, youth leagues, women's federations, literary and art federations, the federation of overseas Chinese, should all fully play their roles, closely link up with the intellectuals, coordinate their actions with the relevant departments and exert themselves to the utmost of their responsibilities to jointly do a good job at their work in connection with the intellectuals.

We believe that guided by the spirit of the 12th National Party Congress and with the joint efforts of the party organizations at all levels throughout the province and of the broad masses of cadres and intellectuals, we shall certainly be able to usher in a new situation in the work concerning the intellectuals in our province and make new contributions to our modernization drive.

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CSO: 4005/222

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### COMMENTARY ON ARTISTIC REFORM IN 1983

OW101055 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1435 GMT 6 Jan 83

[Commentary: "Follow the Path of Reform"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Beijing, 6 Jan (XINHUA)--Nineteen eighty-three is the first year to put into effect the call for creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization, which was set by the 12th Party National Congress. How can we create a new situation? Currently, agriculture is taking the lead and advancing continually, whereas all other trades and professions are making efforts to catch up with the new situation. What can literature and arts do? Comrades of the Shenyang Zhang Guilan Theatrical Troupe, the first team of the first troupe of the Beijing Opera Theater and the magic team of the Shanghai Acrobatic Troupe have already answered this question by their own actions, that is, by following the path of reform. Just as we cannot bring about the excellent situation today without the effort of bringing order out of the chaos of the past few years, we would not be in a position today to talk about creating a new scene, a new achievement, a new contribution or a new situation without being determined to follow the path of reform.

Reform is surely going to encounter resistance from old ideas, customs, habits and conventions, which still bind the heads of many comrades. It takes courage and action to break the pressure of those resisting forces. Comrades of the Zhang Guilan Theatrical Troupe have set an example in this regard.

Objective reality calls for reform, and the broad masses welcome reform. Take, for example, theatrical performance troupes in the country. Their common problems are organizational overstaffing, having more hands than needed and inefficiency caused by quite a few staff who are incapable of carrying out their artistic work functions. The practices of sharing rice from the same big pot and thinking their jobs are as secure as an iron bowl have substantially dampened the enthusiasm and creativity of personnel engaged in artistic work. Moreover, limited budget, low income, unfair treatment and other contradictions have made the burden heavier and the road narrower. How can the system survive

without some sort of reform? By studying the basic guidelines in agricultural reform and experimenting the practice of assigning contracted tasks by teams, the Shenyang Zhang Guilan Theatrical Troupe and the first troupe of the Beijing Opera Theater have demonstrated the following advantages in reform: First, the ranks are smaller in number, but better trained, and the players enthusiasm has been brought into play. Second, the masses see plays more frequently. Third, the subsidies from the state have been reduced and the income for the collective and individuals increased. Fourth, more talented players have had more chance to perform and gain experience, thereby promoting art, offering training to young players and helping them grow to maturity rapidly. These facts have told us that reform will achieve good results, so long as the leaders emancipate their minds, proceed from reality, act in conformity with the socialist system and the party's policy, and take into full consideration the special characteristics of literary and artistic work.

CSO: 4005/315

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### 1982 PROVINCIAL CENSUS RESULT ANNOUNCED

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 29 Oct 82 p 1

["Communique on Major Figures in the 1982 Population Census Released by the Shandong Provincial Statistical Bureau--Provincial Population Over 74 Million"]

[Text] Of the total population in Shandong Province, the percentage of males is 50.71, percentage of females 49.29; the Han nationality and various nationalities are 99.45 and 0.55 percent, respectively; for every 100,000 people, 353 have attained college education; the birthrate in 1981 was 18.84 per thousand with a mortality rate of 6.26 per thousand; the population of cities and towns is 19.07 percent of the total provincial population.

The Shandong Provincial Statistical Bureau has released the communique on the major figures from the 1982 population census (28 October 1982).

In accordance with the unified plans for the third national population census, provincial enumeration of the population started on 1 July 1982 after a preparatory period which began in the second half of 1980. Under the unified leadership of the party committees and people's governments at various levels and with the enthusiastic support of the people of various nationalities and the thoroughgoing and painstaking work of the census workers, the enumeration work of the census and the complete verification were completed. The post-enumeration check by sampling shows that the enumeration work is of the high quality required. Presently, all the data gathered are being processed by computers. Following are the main figures, arrived at by simple manual tabulation:

I. Total Population: at zero hour on 1 July 1982, the total population in the entire province was 74,419,054.

According to the "Statute of the Third Population Census of the People's Republic of China" published by the State Council, people included in the census are those who "hold the citizenship of the People's Republic of China and reside in the country." Therefore, overseas Chinese have not been included.

As compared with the total provincial population, the figure at zero hour on 1 July 1964 released by the second population census, of 55,496,219 (the comparable population figure after the readjustment of the present administrative

divisions), has increased by 18,922,835 people or 34.1 percent in 18 years, an average annual increase of 1,051,269 people or 1.64 percent.

II. Sex Composition: of the total provincial population, males number 37,737,424, accounting for 50.71 percent and females 36,681,630, or 49.29 percent. The proportion of males to females being 102.88 to 100.

In the province there are 119 persons over 100 years old: 16 men and 103 women; the oldest is 111.

III. Population of Various Nationalities: There are altogether 39 nationalities in the province with 74,011,440 of Han nationality, accounting for 99.45 percent of the total population. The minority nationalities population is 407,614, making up 0.55 percent of the total population. Compared with the figure of the second census in 1964 the Han nationality population has increased by 18,810,998, or 34.08 percent and the population of the minority nationalities has increased by 111,837, or 37.81 percent.

IV. The Number of People Who Have Attained Certain Education Levels: Among the total provincial population, 189,085 persons are university graduates and 73,486 persons are university undergraduates (including both those who studied previously but did not finish and those now attending university). There are 4,376,519 persons with a senior middle school education level; 13,171,751 persons with a junior middle school education level; and 25,103,593 persons with a primary school education. The figures in these three categories refer to senior middle school, junior middle school, and primary school students including those who attended school previously but failed to graduate and those who are presently enrolled.

Compared with the 1964 census figures, the following changes have occurred for every 100,000 people: those with university education (including those who attended school previously but did not finish and those who now attend university) have increased from 167 to 353; those with senior middle school education have increased from 694 to 5,881; those with junior middle school education have increased from 2,731 to 17,699; and those with primary school education have increased from 25,422 to 33,733.

In the province, the number of illiterates and semi-illiterates (12 years of age and above who cannot read or can read only a few words) was 20,863,231. Compared with the 1964 census figures, the percentage of illiterates and semi-illiterates of the total population has dropped from 42.75 percent to 28.03 percent.

V. Birthrates and Mortality Rates: In the province, the number of births in 1981 was 1,384,068, with a birthrate of 18.84 thousand. There were 459,758 deaths in 1981 with a mortality rate of 6.26 per thousand. The natural population increase in 1981 was 924,310, a rate of 12.58 per thousand.

Among the people born in 1981, there were 724,553 males and 659,515 females. The proportion of male infants to female infants was 109.86 to 100.

VI. Population of Cities and Towns: The total population residing in cities (excluding rural population of counties under their administration) and towns is 14,190,511 of which 8,690,335 are dwellers in 10 cities and 5,500,176 are dwellers in 97 towns. Compared with the 1964 census figures, the population of cities and towns has increased by 7,014,834 or 97.76 percent. The proportion of the total urban population has increased from 12.93 percent in 1964 to 19.07 percent.

VII. The Distribution of Population by Area: The population distribution in the provinces, prefectures and the municipalities is as follows:

Jinan Municipality: 3,345,063 (including 2,006,956 persons residing in the 3 counties under the direct administration of Jinan Municipality).

Qingdao Municipality: 4,227,594 (including 3,053,722 persons residing in the 4 counties under the direct administration of Qingdao Municipality).

Zibo Municipality: 2,231,519.

Zaozhuang Municipality: 2,722,503 (including 1,484,247 persons residing in 1 county under the direct administration of Zaozhuang Municipality).

Yantai Prefecture: 8,629,218.

Weifang Prefecture: 8,900,654.

Huimin Prefecture: 5,333,128.

Dezhou Prefecture: 5,513,934.

Liaocheng Prefecture: 4,419,904.

Tai'an Prefecture: 5,803,110.

Jining Prefecture: 5,613,406.

Linyi Prefecture: 10,402,982.

Heze Prefecture: 7,276,039.

In accordance with the "Statute of the Third Population Census of the People's Republic of China," a post-enumeration check was carried out after the completion of enumeration and verification work. According to the "Regulations on the Sampling Check on the Quality of the Enumeration Work," a sampling check was done by different categories of random as well as group sampling. Sampling check results have proven that the error rates in reporting of various indexes are lower than the error rates as specified by the state, and that the enumeration work is of the high quality required.

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## HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

### DOUBTS ON FREEDOM UNDER PRC EXPRESSED

HK100914 Hong Kong SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST in English 7 Jan 83 p 2

[Editorial: "Freedom Cannot Be Taken for Granted"]

[Text] At the opening of the legal year on Monday, two leading lawyers spoke, among other things, about freedom. Hong Kong has taken this very much for granted for since 1967 it has not been threatened. The word has surfaced again only because times have changed with China wishing to assume sovereignty after 1997.

The fact is that freedom is such an essential element to our existence that any change could be fatal. The one reason why the government places such emphasis on the ideal of positive non-interventionism is that it realises how necessary it is for Hong Kong people to be free to make their own decisions.

This does not always work to our advantage. Sometimes we win; sometimes we lose. But looking back over the postwar years, there is no question that the winners have far outweighed the losers.

Why would this not continue if China took over? Because whatever the mainland may say about retaining capitalism in Hong Kong, it would be capitalism seen through communist eyes. And while we can admire what they have done for China since 1949 compared to the destitution, poverty and neglect that existed under their corrupt predecessors, we admire even more what freedom and positive non-interventionism have done for Hong Kong during the same time.

Freedom is not, therefore, something we can take for granted. It needs protection and sustenance and can best be guaranteed by those who regard it as their life blood. An independent administration is far better to ensure the continuation of freedom than one that has lived by regimentation and control for the past 34 years. The safeguard Hong Kong has built into its free society is a widely renowned system of justice which must be retained to ensure that neither the state nor any individual takes these liberties for granted.

There is no wish to suggest that our system is infallible; all who live here know it is not; its imperfections are many and the reason why legislative council sits fortnightly is to try and improve the way of life of our people.

But it does this by free debate, with frequent criticism. Outside the council, people are free to express their views and lobby the government through UMELCO [unofficial members of the Legislative Council] or by petitions. Not always do the critics win but no one is punished for having his say.

No doubt we can improve this system by a process of evolution. But evolution itself depends on the degree of freedom that exists and Hong Kong has evolved in the postwar years by giving its people the opportunity to make their own life with minimum restrictions. It will be difficult for those who espouse the dictatorship of the proletariat to turn themselves inside out and assume the benevolent liberalism of an Adam Smith. That is what Hong Kong people fear most in losing their freedom and why such a large proportion support the status quo.

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HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

UKMP SEES PRC TIES 'MORE IMPORTANT' THAN 'DUTY'

HK010244 Hong Kong HONG KONG STANDARD in English 1 Jan 83 p 1

[Text] A member of parliament has said Britain's relations with China are more important than its duty to the people of Hong Kong.

In a recent House of Commons debate, Conservative MP for Christchurch and Lymington, Robert Adley, asked Foreign Secretary Francis Pym:

"Will my honourable friend give an assurance that nothing will be done to harm our relations with the People's Republic which, in the long run, are more important than our relations with Hong Kong?"

Mr Pym replied the government was seeking to achieve the continued prosperity and stability of Hong Kong, which was equally important to China.

Mr Adley also said that uncertainty in Hong Kong was caused by people in the colony "who have deluded themselves into believing there will be a quick and easy answer to the problem."

However, conservative MP for Bromsgrove and Redditch, Hal Miller, said the sense of insecurity came about due to the policy that progress on the discussions was to remain confidential.

He asked if consideration had yet been given to the arrangements for consulting the people of Hong Kong on the outcome of the discussions.

Mr Pym replied: "International negotiations are not normally brought to a successful conclusion unless they have been conducted in confidentiality.

"I think the people of Hong Kong understand that. We are aware of the anxiety about the future.

"We are closely in touch with the government and other important figures in Hong Kong, and I wish to make it clear that the views of the people of Hong Kong will be taken fully into account in our talks with the Chinese."

Mr Pym said Hong Kong's contribution to the economy of China was a significant factor in the discussions, but it was difficult to make a full and precise assessment of this contribution.

Mr Miller said it was essential for a successful outcome of the discussions that China understood that the benefits they receive from Hong Kong far outweigh any benefits to Britain, and that the continuance of Hong Kong, and of those benefits, depended on maintaining the status of the Hong Kong dollar.

In a statement issued yesterday, following his recent visit to London, senior unofficial member of the Executive Council, Sir Sze-yuen Chung said: "I called upon the prime minister, Mrs Thatcher, and I also held separate discussions with Lord Belstead. I was glad and honoured to have these opportunities to exchange views on a range of topics, including, of course, the future of Hong Kong.

"The contents of these discussions should, however, for reasons I am sure will be understood, remain confidential."

CSO: 4000/48

## HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

### ARTICLE DISCUSSES CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION IN CHINA

Hong Kong CHENG MING[Contending] in Chinese No 12, Dec 82 p60-61 ✓

[Article by editor-in-chief: "The Current Political Situation in China"]

[Text] Reporter's comment: On October 20th, the editor-in-chief of this journal was invited to speak at discussion meeting hosted by the Hong Kong University Student Association Current Events Committee where he gave a speech titled "A View of the Political Situation in China According to the 12th National Congress of the Party" The speech lasted nearly two hours and the following is excerpted from it.

#### 1. The Strengthening of the Deng-Hu Nucleus

There is one outstanding feature in China's political situation following the 12th national congress of the party and that is the strengthening of the Deng-Hu nucleus. ✓

This session of the party congress confirmed, supplemented and developed the Deng Xiaoping line and the line of the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the CPC. The practical faction has won another victory.

There were organizational reforms and rectification and the party's highest organ of authority came even more firmly under the control of Deng and Hu. Those people who were not politically consistent with the Deng-Hu nucleus and people who were dissatisfied with, resisted or opposed to the Deng Xiaoping line basically lost their real power. Some of them joined the Advisory Commission, some were demoted to alternate members of the CPC central committee and some simply lost their position. (Of course, many members of advisory committees and many alternate members of the CPC central committee belong to the Deng-Hu faction.) It is especially notable that Hua Guofeng the leader of the whatever faction was demoted two levels, from deputy chairman to member of the CPC central committee and he was even unable to retain his place on the Political Bureau of the Central Committee. Wang Dongxing [3769 2639 5281] another

member of the whatever faction was demoted even lower to alternate member of the CPC central committee. With the removal of Hua Guofeng, the leader of the whatever faction, the standing committee of the Political Bureau now has only six members and is more purified than ever.

From these two points we can see that Deng and Hu have further solidified their position of authority and that the age of Deng Xiaoping has now formally begun. These are the most stable conditions that have existed during the past 30 years.

## 2. Internal Problems of the Communist Party of China

Our statement concerning the unprecedented stability in the political situation is relative and made in comparison with past conditions. Total, absolute stability cannot be achieved, either now or in the future. There still are a number of problems within the communist party and attempts by the reformist faction to carry out various reforms encounter no small number of opposing forces. For example, the Chinese communists long ago brought up the issue of bringing more youth into the party but this effort was not sufficiently carried out. Although the central committee of the party became relatively "youthful," the political bureau and the standing committee of the political bureau did not. Another example is that for several years not the Chinese communist propaganda organs have consistently called for elimination of the system of de facto lifelong tenure, even boasting that this was done on their own initiative. However, the 12th national congress of the party did not formally eliminate the system of de facto lifelong cadre tenure and although the new party constitution regulates the period of service for committee leaders on all levels of the party there nonetheless is not an article limiting re-election or re-appointment. The original draft of the party constitution had such an article, but it was later removed. These two examples demonstrate that the practical faction still faces great difficulties in implementing reforms. What are the major problems within the Communist Party of China? How did these problems occur?

A. The extreme left, anti-practical forces took a sound beating during the 12th national congress of the party, and after the congress they also took a beating in the armed forces. For example, Wei Guoqing [7279 0948 3237], the Director of the General Political Department of the PLA, left office as did a number of military district leaders. However, because of the great influence of leftist poisons, many people became infected, especially in the armed forces, so it cannot be said that the extreme left forces and the anti-practical forces already been eliminated. This is a major problem.

B. Within the party there is no small number of people who are ideologically corrupt and degenerate and whose levels of politics

and Marxism are even below that of the general masses. If these degenerate elements are only one-tenth of the party membership there still are four million of them so the absolute number is still large. Of course, the number of unqualified communist party members could be lower than one-tenth, but it also could be higher.

C. Within the party there is not enough democracy, the shadow of autocracy yet lingers and the spectre of personality cult still remains. It has been said that when the list of names of prefec-tual and unit representatives to the 12th national congress of the party was issued many party members heard about this for the first time. It was said that they did not participate in the elections at all. We hope that this is not true. However, accord-to various evidence, the way of doing things according to one person's sayso has really not been eliminated. The 12th national congress of the party has already virtually wiped out any traces of the personality cult, but what in fact is the actual situation? Opposition to the cult of the individual should not be limited to mere formalities.

D. Although we can say that the Deng Xiaoping era has formally begun and moreover can thoroughly reaffirm that in comparison with Mao's era the era of Deng Xiaoping is relatively open, enlightened and better for the Chinese people, nonetheless, the minds of some of these relatively practical important people still have not com-pletely broken out of the restrictions of Mao Zedong Thought, and some of them attempt to apply pragmatism. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, Mao Zedong gradually adopted "leftist" tendencies, during the mid and latter 1950's "leftist" tendencies became more prominent, and in the mid 1960's "leftist" tendencies rose even higher. In terms of his philosophy, theory and even his practices Mao Zedong turned his back on dialectical materialism and began to use metaphysics in place of dialectics, idealism in place of materialism and pragmatism and utilitarianism in place of Marxist principles. The upper echelons of the Chinese communists have criticized the post-1950's ideology and theories of Mao Zedong, but because their criticisms were not strong enough or thorough enough the remaining poisons are difficult to elimi-nate. One excessively eulogistic statement about Mao Zedong is that: "Without Chairman Mao there would be no New China." This is something like saying that without an egg there would be no chicken, it really lacks the force of logic and it can be describ-ed as a game in formal logic. I believe that it is better to use dialectical and historical materialism to examine people and events.

### 3. The Hopes in the Political Situation

Current political conditions are relatively good, but as a nucleus force of leadership the Chinese communist party of today cannot be described as a strong, powerful fighting force or command head-quarters. This is because it still has no small number of internal

problems. The level of trust held by the whole people is far lower than that in the period before the "Cultural Revolution" and even further below the level of trust found before the mid 1950's. One key link for relatively good political conditions in the present is for the communist party to carry out a genuine rectification and re-establish trust. The CPC has already carried out preparations for rectification of party style in the coming year. However, it can be predicted that rectification of improper style among the upper echelons of the Chinese communists will produce relatively clear results, while among party cadres of the middle and lower levels there will be great resistance to any rectification.

Most recently, Deng and Hu opened fire on the extreme left faction in the armed forces, which was both good and necessary and won the approval of the people. There are those who say that this is a sign of instability for Deng and Hu, but I believe that this is evidence that the power and status of Deng and Hu are already strong and secure. Would anyone in an unsecure position dare to open fire on the armed forces? Such an idea is a joke! However, this anti-leftist struggle absolutely must not come to a stop. This is because the major contradictions and major dangers at present in the party and the state are still found in "leftist" ideology and "leftist" influence. The poisons of leftism have endangered China for 30 years and even now are playing a destructive role. If "leftism" is not thoroughly opposed or if the struggle against "leftism" is not continued the political situation will continue to have problems.

Whether future political conditions are good or bad will primarily be determined by the just-mentioned party rectification and the anti-"leftist" struggle. The successful results of the rectification and the opposition to "leftism" are predicated upon one condition which is the implementation of inner party democracy and the people's democracy. If the people cannot exercise a supervisory role over the party and the cadres and if the people do not have or only partially have such "primary democracy" as the freedom of speech and the freedom of publication it will be impossible to persist in opposing "leftism" and in properly rectifying the party style. After the 1950's, Mao Zedong took on an imperial ideology which lacked a mass viewpoint and he therefore committed a series of serious errors. The overturned cart ahead tells us not to follow its track.

However, there is one point in which I have complete faith and that is that both within the CPC and outside of it there are resolutely determined forces which seek to reform an unsuitable system. Their present path is thorny and they are beset by storms, but I believe they cannot be overcome. Why not? Because of the tides of history and because of objective laws. Therefore, in regard to the future of the nation, we should be optimists and it would be even better to be promoters of that future.

## HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

### HONG KONG OFFICIAL ADVOCATES TRIPARTITE RULE

HK080420 Hong Kong SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST in English 8 Jan 83 p 1

[Text] The Urban Council chairman, Mr Hilton Cheong-Leen, yesterday became the latest public figure to throw his hat into the ring of 1997 speculation.

Mr Cheong-Leen said some form of British participation in the territory's administration after 1997 was necessary to preserve Hong Kong's prosperity.

He said a "three-legged" partnership between China, the UK and Hong Kong people would allow the territory to continue to flourish.

A tripartite administration would preserve Hong Kong's long-term stability and prosperity.

It would stem the increasing exodus by expatriates and foreign-owned companies.

And Peking would continue to benefit from the territory's financial and technical expertise, according to the urban councillor and civic association chairman.

"A vital question in the minds of many foreign firms in Hong Kong is whether Hong Kong would be as useful to China and her modernisation programme if, by 1997, China were to recover full sovereignty of the territory without some form of tangible British co-operation or partnership remaining.

"I am told virtually all these foreign firms would have much greater confidence in remaining here and expanding their investments in Hong Kong, and in China through Hong Kong, if the administration were to evolve into a three-way partnership."

But Mr Cheong-Leen prefaced his remarks by removing both his civic caps.

"Today I am addressing you simply as a citizen of Hong Kong," he told the Hong Kong Lions Club at its lunch meeting.

Mr Cheong-Leen said that after a transitional period Hong Kong could become an integral part of China--well into the 21st century.

CSO: 4000/48

## HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

### IDEOLOGICAL TREND OF CHINA'S INTELLECTUALS ANALYZED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 12, Dec 82 pp 62-63

[Text] On 10 November, the editor in chief of this publication, upon invitation by the Chinese Cultural Society of the Chinese University, gave a speech entitled "the Ideological Trend of China's Intellectuals" in the lecture series sponsored by the society. We publish here some excerpts of the 2-hour speech.

#### I. Changes in the State of Mind of the Intellectuals

The state of mind of China's intellectuals as a whole underwent three changes since the founding of the nation.

1. Period of Fanaticism [1949-1956): They had a certain sentiment for socialism and the CPC. Their life philosophy and world outlook were fairly positive. Viewed from another angle, they appeared to be following blindly and chiming in, lacking in independent thinking.
2. Period of Despondency (1957-1966): From fanaticism to cooling off, they began to take a sceptical view of the CPC and its leaders, but those who were truly "anti-party and anti-socialism" were extremely few in number and could not even amount to what was called "a handful."
3. Period of Introspection (after 1966, the start of the "Cultural Revolution"): Their faith and confidence in the CPC and socialism wavered and their enthusiasm dropped to a low point. Their thinking progressed from confusion to a state of introspection and seeking.

#### II. Social Factors for the Ideological Changes

1. In the first 7 years after the founding of the nation, mentally the intellectuals were rather energetic and spirited as a result of the fairly good party style, the relatively correct policy on intellectuals and the impact of the deification of the party and the leaders.

2. Beginning in 1957, the mental state of the intellectuals changed from enthusiasm to despondency, because of the anti-rightist struggles which bombarded and discouraged them, the policy of discrimination and scorn against the intellectuals (the policy of unity, education and reform) and the failure of the great leap forward which made them ponder.

3. The social factors for the intellectuals to enter the period of introspection after 1966 were the shock of the "Cultural Revolution," the crumbling of the deity and the failure of the ultra-leftwing line.

### III. The Ideological Trend of the Intellectuals Today

After the fall of the gang of four, especially after the Third Plenary Session, as a result of the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts and linking ideology with reality and the series of immensely popular policies and measures adopted by the CPC, the intellectuals throughout the country became animated in thinking and inspired with enthusiasm. However, the climate rapidly changed, alternating between hot and cold, fair and foul. From the winter of 1978 to the spring of 1979, the intellectuals gained, to a certain extent, the freedoms of speech, of academic activities and of creation. Thereafter, except during occasional intervals, they were under restrictions. The denunciation of "Desperate Love" and the struggle against "bourgeois liberalism" produced an impact on the intellectuals in general. In recent years, three different generations have emerged in the intellectuals stratum.

1. The Mature Generation: Basically this group consists of the middle-aged and aged. These intellectuals with real ability and learning underwent the storms of the political movements and encountered bombardments time and again. They regard the occurrences and performances in the political arena like "viewing the moon from the terrace," seeing through them all. Some of them still retain their faith in socialism and Marxism, but many have lost confidence in the CPC.

Some old intellectuals live from day to day, but there are still many who hold aspirations.

Many middle-aged people still entertain ambitions. Some devote themselves to personal endeavors, while others nurture lofty ideals. There are also those whose micro world reflects the macro image. For a number of years, China's progress in science, technology, culture, learning and literature has mainly depended on the middle-aged intellectuals.

2. The Reflective Generation: Basically this group consists of young people around 30 years of age (roughly within a range of 5 years). Encountering the "Cultural Revolution" just when they began to become aware of things, many of them were on the front line of the movement. The cruel reality taught them a lesson. The thinking of many of them progressed from confusion and bewilderment to introspection, reflection, seeking and clear-headedness. From the time during the "Cultural

Revolution" to that after it, some of them correctly assessed China's destiny and their individual value and dedicated themselves to the ideological emancipation movement (e.g., Yu Luoke's [6657 5012 0344] vigorous advocacy of the anti-heritage theory) and the people's democratic movement (e.g., the "4 April" movement). Others, like certain middle-aged intellectuals, plunged into personal endeavors. Still others were depressed in mind and regressive in thinking and sought spiritual refuge in nihilism and existentialism and in religion and superstition. The "crisis of the three faiths" often casts its shadow among this generation.

3. The Bewildered Generation: Basically in their twenties, those in this group were children or teenagers during the "Cultural Revolution." Under social and family influence, many of them are indifferent to politics and hollow in mind, entertaining no ideals and far removed from the CPC and communism. Some are dispirited and depressed. Others wander the world of egoism and individualism. Those possessing the spirit of personal endeavor are rare, and even fewer have a relatively high ideological plane and a sense of social responsibility. Some people call them the "collapsed generation." One only hopes that they will transit to the reflective generation.

The division of the mature, reflective and bewildered generations cannot be absolute. Some young people are also good at reflection. Others, though now middle-aged, remain prisoners of nihilism or Sartre's existentialism.

As a whole, China's intellectuals of the late [early] eighties is fairly strong in ideological initiative. They are much more clear-headed than during the fifties, sixties and seventies. It is where China's hopes lie.

#### IV. The Path of the Intellectuals

The future path of China's intellectuals is determined by factors in two aspects.

1. Subjective Factors: Mainly depending on the presence or absence of any result in the search for truth, of any rise in the ideological plane and of any enhancement in the sense of social responsibility.
2. Objective Factors: Mainly depending on the success of the rectification movement of the CPC, the fulfillment of the policy on intellectuals and the progress of democratic politics.

If both the subjective and objective conditions are present, the intellectuals stratum will emit a tremendous energy like an atom explosion and turn into the main force in modernization. If either the subjective or objective conditions are absent, personal endeavor will become the main trend.

I hope that the objective conditions can be achieved, so that the broad intellectuals will emancipate themselves from the ego and create a glorious future for the nation and the individual. Nevertheless, it is extremely difficult, and one must not be blindly optimistic.